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Peace Agreements as Counterinsurgency

by

Caroline M. Brandt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Political Science

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Associate Professor Michaela Mattes, Chair
Associate Professor Aila Matanock
Associate Professor Leonardo Arriola
Assistant Professor Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra

Spring 2020

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Caroline M. Brandt

Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California, Berkeley

Associate Professor Michaela Mattes, Chair

Peace agreements are heralded as tools for ending civil war. However, exclusive peace agreements, accords that include only a subset of a conflict's warring parties, are unlikely to bring an end to a civil conflict. I argue that exclusive peace agreements serve a purpose beyond conflict resolution. Exclusive peace agreements are a counterinsurgency strategy.

Combatting more than one rebel group strains governments' military abilities by dividing resources across multiple wars. Governments that would otherwise be able to defeat a rebel group may be unable to do so when tied down by multiple insurgencies. Based on this logic, and in contrast to the literature on spoilers in peace processes, I argue that the threat posed by other insurgent groups increases the likelihood that a government and rebel group sign an exclusive negotiated settlement. Exclusive peace agreements allow governments to consolidate military resources into the fight against the remaining insurgency. Exclusive peace agreements can further strengthen a government's counterinsurgency capabilities by including provisions for military power-sharing that transform conflict adversaries into war-fighting allies.

To test this hypothesis, I analyze all multiparty civil wars from 1975-2013. In support of the theory, I find that the threat posed by other rebel groups is positively correlated with the likelihood that a government and rebel group sign an exclusive peace accord. I then use a case study of civil war in the Southern Philippines to bring to light the mechanisms that undergird these correlations. In line with the theory, the threat posed by other rebel groups jump-started stalled peace talks with Moro insurgent groups. I also find that exclusive peace agreements were successful mechanisms for incorporating rebel soldiers into the government's fight against other rebel groups.

To Charles

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Glossary

AFP Armed Forces of the Philippines

AHJAG Ad Hoc Joint Action Group

AQIM al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

ARMM Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao

ASG Abu Sayyaf Group

BIFF Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters

CNDD National Council for the Defense of Democracy

CNDP National Congress for the Defense of the People

DPA Darfur Peace Agreement

EDSA Epifanio de los Santos Avenue

ELN National Liberation Army

EPL People's Liberation Army

FARC Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia

FDD Forces for the Defense of Democracy

FDLR Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

FLEC Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda

FNL National Forces of Liberation

FUNCINPEC National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia

GIA Armed Islamic Group of Algeria

JI Jemaah Islamiyah

JPST Joint Peace and Security Team

KDP Kurdistan Democratic Party

KPNLF Khmer People's National Liberation Front

M-19 19th of April Movement

MILF Moro Islamic Liberation Front

MIM Muslim Independence Movement

MLC Movement for the Liberation of the Congo

MNLF Moro National Liberation Front

MUJAO Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa

NLF National Liberation Front

NPA New People's Army

OIC Organisation of Islamic Cooperation

PLO Palestinian Liberation Organization

PMF Popular Mobilization Forces

PNP Philippine National Police

PRRI Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia

PUK Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

RCD Rally for Congolese Democracy

RSM Rajah Sulaiman Movement

SCIRI Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq

SLA-MM Sudan Liberation Army

SPCPD Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development

SPLM/A Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

SSDF South Sudan Defence Force

UCDP Uppsala Conflict Data Program

UNITA National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

UNRF II Uganda National Rescue Front

Chapter 1

Introduction

Civil conflict in Colombia has raged for half a century. For over fifty years several distinct rebel groups have challenged the state's legitimacy. While the government's armed forces have won tactical victories, the government has never succeeded in eliminating these insurgent threats. Several structural factors contribute to this failure. First, the mountainous terrain of Colombia provides guerrilla groups with ample opportunities to hide. Second, despite a system of compulsory military service, the armed forces of Colombia have relatively few soldiers compared to similarly-sized states.[1] As a consequence, the ratio of government soldiers to insurgent troops has remained consistently low.[2] Faced with a limited military capability and several insurgent challengers, decisive government victory was unlikely.

In the 1990s, the government was embroiled in a difficult multiparty conflict.[3] The government simultaneously fought several leftist rebel groups - the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the People's Liberation Army (EPL), and the National Liberation Army (ELN). The government strained to provide security across several fronts. It was during this period that the government and EPL began a peace process.

The government's need to stretch limited counterinsurgency resources across several fronts created vulnerabilities. For example, in December 1990, the Colombian armed forces bombed the FARC's *Casa Verde* headquarters in Meta. The attack required roughly 2,300 government troops.[4] In concentrating its forces for the *Casa Verde* attack, the army left many parts of Colombia under-defended. The guerrilla forces identified this vulnerability and took the offensive.[5]

Seizing this opportunity, the ELN and FARC coordinated to execute Operation Wasp, a large-scale militarized assault on government forces. At the time, the offensive was the largest

[1] Julieta Lemaitre Ripoll. *La Paz En Cuestión. La Guerra y La Paz En La Asamblea Constituyente de 1991.* Universidad de los Andes, 2011.

[2] Ibid.

[3] For the purposes of this research, a multiparty conflict is any civil war involving two or more concurrently active rebel groups.

[4] James Brooke. "Colombia Presses Drive on Rebels, Smashing Base". *The New York Times. World* (Dec. 14, 1990).

[5] René De La Pedraja. *Wars of Latin America, 1982-2013: The Path to Peace.* McFarland, 2013, p. 191.

insurgency operation in the history of the country.[6] Hundreds were killed on both sides.[7] The FARC adopted a more centralized command system, which facilitated coordination amongst its commanders.[8] The group also used dynamite to destroy oil pipelines. The government at the time estimated losses of over 100 USD million.[9] The coordinated attacks by the FARC and ELN marked an inflection point. These efforts demonstrated a level of military capabilities and sophistication that far exceed the government's expectations, and forced a new assessment of conditions.[10]

But what was the effect of this assault? The literature on 'spoilers' to peace negotiations posits that the violence committed by warring parties outside a peace process can undo the endeavor.[11] Yet amidst Operation Wasp, the peace process with the EPL not only survived; it flourished.

In 1991, the government of César Gaviria and the EPL concluded an exclusive peace agreement - a negotiated settlement that excludes one or more warring parties in a conflict. The government granted the EPL two representatives in the Constituent Assembly charged with writing a new national constitution. In exchange, the EPL agreed to surrender their arms by March 1st, 1991.[12] Government representatives and EPL leaders heralded the agreement as an important step towards peace.

However, this agreement would not end the civil conflict, and no one ever believed it could. After all, important guerrilla groups - most notably the FARC and ELN - were not parties to the accord. What then, was the purpose of this agreement?

In multiparty conflicts, intrastate accords are not just mechanisms for conflict resolution. Exclusive peace agreements are tools for war. In Colombia, the government's settlement with the EPL brought an end to the violence between the signatories, but had little chance of bringing peace to Colombia. Indeed, this was never the point. Instead, by reshaping the conflict dynamic and freeing up resources, the deal enhanced the government's war-fighting capabilities against the non-signatory rebel groups, including the FARC and ELN. By signing exclusive peace agreements, governments can alter the balance of power in a conflict and strengthen their counterinsurgency capabilities against the remaining insurgent forces.

The Colombian case is not unusual. Between 1945 and 2017 over a third of all civil wars were multiparty conflicts involving more than one insurgent group.[13] Multiparty conflicts,

[6] Paul J. Tompkins Jr. *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare Volume II-1962–2009.* Ed. by Chuck Crossett. Fort Bragg, NC: United States Army Special Operations Command, 2012.

[7] Ibid.

[8] De La Pedraja, *Wars of Latin America, 1982-2013*, p. 192.

[9] "Guerrillas Step Up Attacks in Colombia: Violence: The Rebel Groups, Excluded from the Constitutional Debate, Are Spreading Terror in the Capital. The Death Toll Has Reached 47." *Los Angeles Times* (Feb. 7, 1991).

[10] Tompkins Jr., *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare Volume II-1962–2009*, p. 70.

[11] Stephen John Stedman. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes". *International Security* 22.2 (1997), pp. 5–53; Desirée Nilsson and Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs. "Revisiting an Elusive Concept: A Review of the Debate on Spoilers in Peace Processes". *International Studies Review* 13.4 (2011), pp. 606–626.

[12] *Final Agreement.* 1991.

[13] Therése Pettersson and Kristine Eck. "Organized Violence, 1989–2017". *Journal of Peace Research* 55.4

like those in Colombia, present significant challenges to governments. The introduction of a second rebel group into an insurgency alters conflict dynamics in myriad ways. These differences are evidenced by the fact that multiparty conflicts are the longest and most destructive type of civil war.[14] For example, peacekeeping is exceptionally difficult as the number of parties proliferates.[15] Rebel groups attack not only government forces but also each other.[16] Rebel group alliances, an impossibility in single-party conflicts, can have a dramatic impact on the outcome of a civil war.[17] The potential value of a peace agreement to governments and rebel groups also changes when a civil war becomes a multiparty conflict. I argue that in multiparty conflicts, exclusive peace agreements not only function as tools for conflict resolution. Governments can sign exclusive peace agreements to strengthen their hand in the war against the excluded rebel groups. The signatories to a negotiated accord will describe themselves as peace-seeking. They have strong incentives to do so. To take them at their word, however, would obscure the full impact of these peace accords.

1.1 Exclusive Peace Agreements

Peace agreements that include all warring parties, often referred to as inclusive peace agreements, are considered by many to be the gold-standard of negotiated settlements.[18] This belief is shared widely enough that inclusivity has become one of the norms that dictate what constitutes a 'good' peace agreement.[19] D. Cunningham makes a similar observation, arguing that "In recent years, there appears to have been a shift toward including all politically relevant actors at the negotiating table, turning many civil war negotiations into something

(2018), pp. 535–547; Nils Petter Gleditsch et al. "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset". *Journal of Peace Research* 39.5 (2002), pp. 615–637.

[14]Barbara F. Walter. *Reputation and Civil War: Why Separatist Conflicts Are so Violent*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009; David E. Cunningham. *Barriers to Peace in Civil War*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[15]Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis". *American Political Science Review* 94.4 (2000), pp. 779–801.

[16]Hanne Fjelde and Desirée Nilsson. "Rebels Against Rebels: Explaining Violence Between Rebel Groups". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56.4 (2012), pp. 604–628.

[17]Fotini Christia. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

[18]Some scholars use the term inclusive to refer to the inclusion of civil society or other non-violent non-state actors in a peace process. Here the term inclusive only refers to whether all war combatants are signatory to the accord.

[19]Fen Osler Hampson. *Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996, p. 217; Licklider Roy. "Obstacles to Peace Settlements". *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Ed. by Chester Crocker, Hampson Fen Osler, and Aall Pamela. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001, p. 701; Jan Van Eck. "Burundi: An Ongoing Search for Durable Peace". *African Security Studies* 16.1 (2007), pp. 113–120, p. 115; Lisa Blaydes and Jennifer De Maio. "Spoiling the Peace? Peace Process Exclusivity and Political Violence in North-Central Africa". *Civil Wars* 12.1-2 (2010), pp. 3–28.

resembling a national conference on politics in the country."[20] U.N. mediators are said to feel trapped between the demands of delivering a signed peace agreement by "the requirement to fulfill U.N. norms of broader participation."[21]

International actors pressure governments and rebel groups to bring all warring parties to the table. However, actors involved in multiparty conflicts often pursue exclusive peace agreements.[22] Defenders of these agreements describe the accords as incremental approaches to peace. For example, Zartman writes that governments may try to 'win away pieces' through a series of exclusive peace agreement.[23]

However, scholars are generally pessimistic about this possibility. Several studies show that violence committed by 'spoilers' can derail peace processes.[24] In particular, research has shown that excluded warring parties can negatively affect the likelihood of a successful peace process.[25] The violence that one rebel group commits often pushes rebel groups towards

[20] David E. Cunningham. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration". *American Journal of Political Science* 50.4 (2006), pp. 875–892, p. 891.

[21] Thania Paffenholz. "Broadening Participation in Peace Processes". *Dilemmas and Options for Mediators, Geneva* (2014), p. 5.

[22] From 1975-2013, 51 of the 76 peace agreements signed in multiparty conflicts were exclusive peace accords. Therése Pettersson, Stina Högbladh, and Magnus Öberg. "Organized Violence, 1989–2018 and Peace Agreements". *Journal of Peace Research* 56.4 (2019), pp. 589–603; Lotta Harbom, Stina Högbladh, and Peter Wallensteen. "Armed Conflict and Peace Agreements". *Journal of Peace Research* 43.5 (2006), pp. 617–631.

[23] I. William Zartman. *Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars*. Brookings Institute, 1995, p. 23.

[24] The term spoiling is used to refer to violence during peace negotiations before a signed accord as well as violence executed to derail a signed accord. For example, Aggestam defines spoiling as "actions taken to undermine a peace process in general and negotiation in particular." Höglund and Zartman define spoilers as "those who disrupt the process as well as the outcome of negotiations." Similarly, Newman and Richmond define spoiling as "tactics that actively seek to hinder, delay, or undermine conflict settlement.' Karin Aggestam. "Internal and External Dynamics of Spoiling: A Negotiation Approach". *Challenges to Peacebuilding: Managing Spoilers During Conflict Resolution*. Ed. by Edward Newman and Oliver P. Richmond. New York, NY: United Nations University Press, 2006; Kristine Höglund and I. William Zartman. "Violence by the State: Official Spoilers and Their Allies". *Violence and Reconstruction*. Ed. by John Darby. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006, p. 30; Edward Newman and Oliver P. Richmond. "Obstacles to Peace Processes: Understanding Spoiling". *Challenges to Peacebuilding: Managing Spoilers During Conflict Resolution*. Ed. by Edward Newman and Oliver P. Richmond. New York, NY: United Nations University Press, 2006, p. 1.

[25] An in-exhaustive list includes: Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes"; Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence". *International Organization* 56.02 (2002), pp. 263–296; Michael Glenn Findley. "Spoiling the Peace or Seeking the Spoils?: Civil War Outcomes and the Role of Spoilers". Ph.D. Thesis. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2007; Kelly M. Greenhill and Solomon Major. "The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords" (2007); Juliette R. Shedd. "When Peace Agreements Create Spoilers: The Russo-Chechen Agreement of 1996". *Civil Wars* 10.2 (2008), pp. 93–105; Wendy Pearlman. "Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process". *International Security* 33.3 (2009), pp. 79–109; Nilsson and Söderberg Kovacs, "Revisiting an Elusive Concept"; Michael G. Findley and Joseph K. Young. "Terrorism, Spoiling, and the Resolution of Civil Wars". *The Journal of Politics* 77.4 (2015), pp. 1115–1128; Andrew G. Reiter. "Does Spoiling Work? Assessing the Impact of Spoilers on Civil War Peace Agreements". *Civil Wars* 17.1 (2015), pp. 89–111.

more violent tactics, rather than more conciliatory ones.[26] Where violence resonates with a community, groups may adopt more extreme tactics as they bid for the popular support of a community in favor of violence as a political strategy.[27] Violent operations boost an organization's profile.[28]

Case studies provide the primary form of support for the spoiler hypothesis. Studies that rely on quantitative cross-national research, however, finds little support for the idea that violence by one rebel group reduces the likelihood of peace between a government and another rebel group. Controlling for other important factors, signatories to exclusive peace agreements are just as likely to keep the peace as signatories of inclusive peace accords.[29] Reiter, in his cross-national analysis, finds that spoiler violence is 'surprisingly ineffective' at derailing peace processes.[30]

While these cross-national studies have cast some doubt on the spoiler hypothesis, my research suggests an even stronger conclusion: in many cases, the threat posed by one insurgent group *increases* the likelihood that a government and rebel group sign a negotiated settlement. I call this the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy.

To understand the logic of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy, it is necessary to discard the prevailing norms. They are insufficient because they fixate on whether a deal can end the conflict. It is clear that by excluding some parties a deal cannot achieve that objective. But states may not in fact be seeking this goal. In the face of domestic and international incentives to push for inclusive peace, they may instead be seeking to *win* the conflict.

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy builds on the intuition that in a civil war, a peace accord affects more than just the signing parties. Peace agreements in civil conflicts have been extensively studied as tools for conflict resolution. This thesis advances the novel theory that intrastate peace agreements may be an important tool to fight civil wars.

1.2 Peace Agreements as a Counterinsurgency Strategy

I argue that exclusive peace agreements can strengthen a government in their fight against excluded rebel groups in two ways. First, exclusive peace agreements allow governments to consolidate military resources into the fight against the remaining insurgency. Second, exclusive peace agreements can function as a mechanism for rebel groups to switch sides, bringing

[26] Mia M. Bloom. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding". *Political Science Quarterly* 119.1 (2004), pp. 61–88.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Desirée Nilsson. "Partial Peace: Rebel Groups Inside and Outside of Civil War Settlements". *Journal of Peace Research* 45.4 (2008), pp. 479–495.
[30] Reiter, "Does Spoiling Work?"

them inside the government tent and directing their firepower outward in counterinsurgency campaigns.

Exclusive peace agreements can strengthen counterinsurgency capacity vis-à-vis excluded rebel groups by allowing governments to limit the number of fronts the armed forces are spread across. Civil conflicts are most often fought in areas of low state capacity.[31] Even in single-party conflicts, governments may struggle to deploy a military force sufficient to achieve a military victory over rebel forces. When governments are confronted with more than one insurgent group, the strain on military resources becomes amplified.

Actively fighting multiple rebel groups is only a fraction of this burden. Every distinct rebel group that enters a civil conflict requires the government to dedicate resources towards monitoring and collecting information, as well as maintaining defensive postures in areas of active insurgency. As the Colombian government realized after the *Casa Verde* assault, large-scale offensives against one rebel group may expose vulnerabilities in the fight with other rebel groups.

In a multiparty conflict, exclusive peace agreements allow governments to limit the number of rebel groups they are fighting. An agreement may not increase a government's net military capabilities (though as I discuss below, some deals *do* increase net capacity). But even without absolute resource gains, reducing the number of fronts resources are distributed across produces a relative increase in government military capabilities that can be directed at the remaining insurgent groups.

Additionally, governments can polish their domestic and international reputations by signing an exclusive peace agreement. States risk sanction and international opprobrium for their conduct in civil war. Given the broad international norms in favor of inclusive peace deals, it may seem unlikely that governments would receive praise for signing an exclusive agreement. However, exclusive peace agreements do generate some capital for the government. With both domestic and international audiences, governments may be able to portray themselves as responsible, peace-seeking regimes, while characterizing excluded rebels as potential spoilers to the peace process. As such, the public may see attacks by government forces against these groups as defenses of the peace rather than acts of war.

Furthermore, an exclusive peace agreement can undermine civilian support for excluded insurgent groups. When rebel groups share a constituency (which may be the result of a shared ethnic, linguistic, religious identity or the consequence of groups with similar political ideologies), a peace accord with one group may undermine civilian support for excluded groups. Doing so challenges the insurgent narrative that the current regime is inherently antithetical to the group's interests. By signing an exclusive peace agreement with an organization that represents the group, governments can undermine the credibility of excluded rebel groups' claims. Rebel groups' messaging may no longer persuade civilians to join or support the organization. The concessions that signatory rebel groups are granted during peace negotiations can also demonstrate the efficacy of peaceful strategies over violent

[31] James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War". *American Political Science Review* 97.01 (2003), pp. 75–90; Fearon and Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War".

tactics in achieving desired results.

It may also be in a rebel group's interest to sign an exclusive peace agreement. In multiparty conflicts, rebel groups can leverage a government's need to consolidate its military operations. As such, rebel groups signing exclusive peace agreements should be able to extract greater concessions than they would otherwise. Rebel groups are likely to get a better deal when negotiating for an exclusive peace accord in a multiparty conflict.[32]

Additionally, exclusive peace agreements may provide a solution to the commitment problem that deters warring parties from coming to mutually beneficial agreements in civil war.[33] Civil wars often require one side to dispense with their defenses as part of a negotiated settlement. Rebel groups fear that governments will take advantage of the group's vulnerability during the implementation of a peace agreement. However, according to the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy, governments sign exclusive peace agreements to manage multiparty conflicts they are otherwise unable to successfully conclude. As such, rebel groups should have confidence that governments have a strong disincentive to turn their back on a negotiated settlement. Doing so would eliminate a primary benefit to an accord.

Finally, an exclusive peace agreement may aid rebel groups in their fight with other rebel organizations. Rebel groups who share an ethnic, religious, linguistic or political constituency compete to be seen as the legitimate representative of that group. A government designates rebel groups as equal negotiating partners by signing an exclusive accord together.[34] In this way, an exclusive peace agreement can designate a rebel group as the premier representative of a given constituency.

Rebel groups can see the potential advantage of this extra cachet, and they can just as easily see that the government could take their deal to the other side. Rebel groups that do not sign an exclusive peace agreement risk being upstaged by another group or even the military target of an undivided government military force.[35]

An exclusive peace agreement can limit the number of fronts a government is fighting on. Some peace agreements further strengthen governments' counterinsurgency capabilities by incorporating rebel soldiers into the government's fight against the remaining insurgency.

Peace agreements that include provisions for military power-sharing call for rebel soldiers

[32]For governments, the utility of signing an exclusive peace agreement is two-fold. War costs lives and resources. By signing an exclusive peace agreement, governments gain by ending costly violence with signatory rebel(s). By increasing their relative military capabilities, governments also gain by changing the likely outcome of the conflict with excluded rebel groups. It is this additional second advantage that implies governments should prefer exclusive peace agreements that include large concessions to continued fighting.

[33]James D. Fearon. "Rationalist Explanations for War". *International Organization* 49.03 (1995), pp. 379–414; Barbara F. Walter. *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

[34]Navin A. Bapat. "Insurgency and the Opening of Peace Processes". *Journal of Peace Research* 42.6 (2005), pp. 699–717.

[35]Desirée Nilsson. "Turning Weakness into Strength Military Capabilities, Multiple Rebel Groups and Negotiated Settlements". *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27.3 (2010), pp. 253–271.

to be integrated into the existing armed forces.[36] Successful integration of rebel soldiers into the armed forces provides troops, and often weapons, that can be redeployed into the fight against the remaining insurgent forces. Rebel soldiers also bring with them knowledge of local conditions. Guerillas' greatest tactical advantage is their ability to hide in rough terrain and amongst civilians. Local knowledge can counter this advantage.

Additionally, military integration can reinforce the government's signal of its commitment to including the rebel group's constituency in governance. By visibly incorporating rebel soldiers into the most coercive arm of the national government, governments can often undermine excluded rebel groups' rationale for war against the state. In this way, incorporating rebel soldiers into the national armed forces may reduce civilian support for other rebel groups.

Signatory rebel groups also benefit from military integration, which is often popular with the group's constituents and provides relatively stable salaries to group members. Perhaps most importantly, integration is a powerful corrective against commitment traps. If the government is relying on a group's soldiers to wage conflict, it is far more likely to adhere to the terms of the settlement. In this way, military power-sharing in exclusive peace agreements provides a commitment mechanism not present in inclusive peace agreements.

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy reveals that exclusive peace agreements may help a government that is facing multiparty conflict to shift the balance of power in its favor. However, this theory is not mutually exclusive with the idea that intrastate peace agreements are tools for conflict resolution. Peace agreements most effectively strengthen governments' counterinsurgency capabilities when they create lasting peace with the signatories. This research demonstrates the need to carefully evaluate the objectives and effects of an exclusive peace agreement. In doing so, this dissertation brings to light an understudied mechanism that links peace agreements with some rebel groups with the war-fighting dynamics of other rebel groups.

1.2.1 Theoretical Contributions

In this dissertation, I argue that peace agreements are a counterinsurgency strategy. This theory marks a clear departure from current thinking in two ways. First, peace agreements are heralded as benevolent tools for bringing an end to violence. This is clear every time an international actor praises warring parties that sign an exclusive peace accord. However, by excluding a significant warring party, exclusive peace agreements are extremely unlikely to bring an end to a country's civil war. Many hope that by signing an agreement to remove one or more warring parties from the conflict, the total amount of violence a country experiences will diminish. From this vantage point, an inclusive peace agreement is preferable, but perhaps an exclusive peace process will spur future peace talks as nations march towards peace.[37]

[36] It is for this reason that the terms military power-sharing and military integration are often used interchangeably.

[37] Zartman, *Elusive Peace*, p. 23.

Peace agreements may beget peace agreements, but this rosy picture ignores what happens in between settlement negotiations. I argue that exclusive peace agreements are not just designed to end conflict between signatories. Governments often sign exclusive peace agreements to double-down on their fight against the excluded rebel groups. If exclusive peace agreements strengthen governments' counterinsurgency campaigns against excluded rebel groups, then exclusive peace agreements may bring about even more violence in a conflict.

Second, the violence executed by organizations excluded from peace talks is thought to have a deleterious effect on the likelihood of negotiations concluding with a signed accord.[38] Scholarship on spoilers to peace processes often focuses on specific bombing campaigns or other forms of violence designed to disrupt the potential for a signed accord.[39] This research takes a step back. I argue that the general security threat posed by other rebel groups *increases* the likelihood of a signed negotiated settlement between warring parties. In doing so I bring to light an unstudied link between a government's warfare with one rebel group and peace processes with another. Multiparty conflicts are inherently complex. Yet scholarship often treats the contests between governments and rebel groups as independent. This research identifies novel links between contests. Doing so furthers our understanding of the relationship between war and peace in multiparty civil conflicts.

1.2.2 Theoretical Limitations

1.2.2.1 Which Rebel Groups Sign Exclusive Peace Agreements?

Given my argument, one might ask which rebel groups are likely to sign an exclusive accord? And which rebel groups are most likely to be excluded from the peace process? While my theory offers some insights that could inform those trying to answer, the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy itself does not answer this question.

I argue that as some rebel groups become more threatening, governments are likely to sign a peace accord with other rebel groups. However, there are often several possible signatories that satisfy these conditions. Governments and rebel groups have other preferences, such as history and political ideology, that also must be taken into account. For example, when a peace accord with a variety of rebel groups would strengthen a government's counterinsurgency capacity, governments may prefer to engage groups with relatively moderate political preferences. Similarly, the geography of conflict may influence a government's choice about which rebel groups to engage. For example, multiple rebel groups fighting in far-flung regions of the country may place the most strain on the armed forces, increasing the incentive to make peace with one or more of these distant forces.

Another important factor is the social or political constituency of each rebel group. All exclusive peace agreements can consolidate the number of war fronts a government is fighting on. Only exclusive agreements with some rebel groups have the additional advantage

[38]Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes".
[39]Kydd and Walter, "Sabotaging the Peace".

of undermining civilian support for the excluded rebel groups. To demonstrate, Table 1.1 lists the four rebel groups active in Afghanistan's civil war in 1995 as well as their ethnic affiliation.[40] The government's decision to sign a peace agreement with either the Uzbek Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami or the Hazara Hizb-i Wahdat would do little to undermine civilian support for other rebel groups. However, Pashtun civilians may be swayed away from supporting the Taleban if the government signed a peace agreement with Hizb-i Islami-yi - which the government proceeded to do the following year.

This example illustrates the potential value of a peace agreement as counterinsurgency technique for coopting an ethnic-based rebel force by collaborating with a different organization representing the same ethnic group. But it does not elucidate whether the government was likely to sign an accord with the Taleban or Hizb-i Islami-yi.

Table 1.1: Multiparty Conflict in Afghanistan, 1995

Rebel Group	Ethnic Affiliation
Hizb-i Islami-yi	Pashtun
Hizb-i Wahdat	Hazara
Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami	Uzbek
Taleban	Pashtun

The research presented in this dissertation does not elucidate which rebel groups agree to sign exclusive peace accords. Despite these limitations, the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy makes a significant contribution. Identifying exclusive peace agreements as a tool for strengthening governments' warfare provides insight into why governments and rebel groups sign peace accords that appear to have no hope of ending a civil war. Inclusive peace agreements are held up by mediators and policymakers as the type of peace agreement most likely to create durable peace. In this dissertation, I argue that exclusive peace agreements bring their own set of advantages.

Furthermore, the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy outlines how the threat posed by one rebel group *increases* the likelihood of a signed peace accord between the government and another rebel group. As such, this research challenges the significant literature on spoilers and out-bidding that describes violence executed by a rebel group only has a negative effect on the likelihood of a government signing peace agreement with another group.

Finally, the theory also highlights how the exclusive nature of a peace agreement can increase the likelihood of a durable peace between the signatories. At the bargaining table, rebel groups leverage their military power to secure a settlement. Disarmament

[40] Gleditsch et al., "Armed Conflict 1946-2001"; Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*; Pettersson, Högbladh, and Öberg, "Organized Violence, 1989–2018 and Peace Agreements".

eliminates this leverage. Rebel groups rightly fear that governments will take advantage of this vulnerability and renege on the implementation of the accord, or even liquidate the group. The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy posits that the threat posed by other rebel groups can strengthen the credibility of a government's promise not to renege on a peace deal by increasing the cost for governments of reneging. Scholars interested in both conflict duration and conflict outcomes will benefit from understanding that conflict dynamics with one or more rebel groups have the potential to alter the outcome of peace processes with other rebel groups.

1.2.2.2 Inclusive Peace Agreements

My theory lays out a novel rationale for why governments and rebel groups sign exclusive peace agreements in multiparty conflicts. The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy is a probabilistic theory. What I have laid out are general incentives that may encourage governments and rebel groups to sign certain kinds of peace agreements. The theory does not claim to explain all signed peace accords in multiparty civil conflicts. After all, governments and rebel groups do sometimes sign inclusive peace agreement in multiparty conflicts. If exclusive peace deals offer the advantages I have described, why would they choose to pursue inclusive agreements?

As previously described, inclusive peace agreements are seen by international actors as the ideal form of a peace accord. Both governments and rebel groups may bend to the pressure of international actors and invite more warring parties to the negotiating table than they would prefer. Clapham argues that Western states created informal rules about mediation in the post Cold War environment, rules that "as they were perceived from the perspective of Western civil societies in the post-Cold War era, seemed so obviously valid that they may well in many cases been taken for granted." These rules included "their insistence on the need for inclusive political settlement to which all major actors in the conflict would be parties."[41] Where warring parties are desperate for the third-party enforcement or financial aid that international actors can provide, warring parties may bend to these wishes. Sometimes governments, whether due to international pressure or an alternative reason, will sign inclusive peace agreements in multiparty conflicts. But other times they will sign up exclusive ones and I lay out an argument when this is most likely to occur.

1.3 Research Design

Cross-national analysis allows me to assess whether patterns in line with the theory are present across a geographically and temporally diverse sample. I test whether exclusive peace agreements are positively correlated with several measurements of threat across all civil conflicts from 1975-2013.

[41] Christopher Clapham. "Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking". *Journal of Peace Research* 35.2 (1998), pp. 193–210, 194–196.

I strengthen the validity of this analysis by conducting a hoop test - a test that does not by itself affirm the theory but establishes a necessary criterion for accepting the theory.[42] If the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy is correct, then difficult conflict environments should increase the likelihood that these types of peace agreements, *and only these peace agreements*, are signed. To establish whether the theory satisfies this criterion, I test whether multiparty conflict dynamics predict warring parties signing inclusive peace accords in multiparty conflicts.

This quantitative analysis, however, relies on observational data and cannot with certainty identify causal effects. The possibility for an omitted variable to explain the correlation between the independent and dependent variable looms large. As such, I use a case study of two peace agreements in the Southern Philippines to bring to light the mechanisms that undergird the correlations found in the cross-national analysis.

In the qualitative test of the theory, I analyze the peace processes between the Philippine government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in 1996 and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in 2012. I've chosen the civil war in the Southern Philippines as a hard test of the theory. Governments rarely sign peace accords in secessionist conflicts for fear of inspiring future claims against the state's sovereignty.[43] Furthermore, where an ethnic minority demands sovereignty over territory, rebel groups are unlikely to agree to compromised settlements.[44] The case of the Southern Philippines meets both of these criteria. As such, it is extremely unlikely that the government or rebel groups would choose exclusive peace agreements as the strategy for dealing with difficult multiparty conflicts. Evidence from this least-likely case provides strong support for the theory.

The case study achieves two objectives. First, the qualitative analysis allows me to analyze warring parties' motives and reasoning for signing an exclusive peace accord. I probed primary and secondary sources for evidence that the government and the signing rebel group, in deciding to sign an accord, were concerned with the influence or military prowess of an excluded rebel group.

Second, comparing the government's agreement with the MNLF to the accord with the MILF allows for a controlled comparison. Both the conflict environment at the time and the grievances of the insurgency are extremely similar. The agreements, however, differ in one important respect. Only the government's peace accord with the MNLF called for rebel soldiers becoming members of the armed forces of the Philippines. As such I am able to assess the role of exclusive peace agreement and military power-sharing in transforming conflict adversaries into allies.

[42] David Collier. "Understanding Process Tracing". *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44.4 (2011), pp. 823–830.

[43] Barbara F. Walter. "Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict". *International Studies Review* 5.4 (2003), pp. 137–153.

[44] Monica Duffy Toft. *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton University Press, 2005.

1.4 Plan of Study

This thesis proceeds as follows. In Chapter 2, I develop a theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy. From this theory, I derive hypotheses that link conflict dynamics with the types of peace agreements signed by governments and rebel groups.

In Chapter 3, I test whether the threat posed by one rebel group influences the likelihood that another rebel group signs an exclusive peace agreement with the government. I also test whether the threat posed by other rebel groups influences the content of the peace accord. Specifically, I examine whether an exclusive peace agreement is likely to include provisions for military power-sharing in difficult multiparty conflicts. I find strong evidence that the threat posed by other rebel groups influences the likelihood of other warring parties signing exclusive peace agreements. I find moderate evidence that the threat posed by other rebel groups increases the likelihood of an exclusive agreement including provisions for military power-sharing.

In Chapter 4, I trace whether the causal mechanism identified by the theory is present in one case of multiparty conflict. To do so I study two exclusive peace agreements signed by separatist Moro insurgents fighting in Southern Philippines. I examine the events leading up to the negotiated settlement with the MNLF in 1996 and the rationale for incorporating 6,000 MNLF soldiers into the armed forces. I find that the settlement with the MNLF achieved two ends: it reduced the number of fronts on which the state had to fight and reinforced its military operations. Each was made possible by incorporating soldiers familiar with both the region and guerrilla warfare into the armed forces.

I find that the concerns for addressing radical Islamist terrorist groups like the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) drove both the government and MILF to come to a negotiated settlement. Additionally, the peace agreement with the MILF demonstrates how military power-sharing is sufficient but not necessary to obtain rebel group cooperation in counterinsurgency campaigns. The case of the MILF showcases the huge strategic advantage governments gain when they can cooperate with rebel soldiers against excluded insurgent groups. Finally, I conclude in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2

A Theory of Peace Agreements as a Counterinsurgency Strategy

Since 1945, approximately a third of civil wars are multiparty conflicts that involved more than one rebel group.[1] In these conflicts, combatants sometimes sign exclusive peace agreements, negotiated settlements that include only a subset of the conflict's active warring parties. An in-depth literature has examined how and when negotiated settlements are likely to establish an enduring peace between signatories.[2] We know much less about how peace agreements affect conflict dynamics with the rebel groups that are *not* included in an agreement.[3] A full assessment of peace agreement outcomes must include how negotiated settlements affect the on-going war against non-signatory groups. In this chapter, I develop a theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy. I argue that negotiated

[1] Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*.

[2] I. William Zartman. *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1989; Caroline Hartzell, Matthew Hoddie, and Donald Rothchild. "Stabilizing the Peace after Civil War: An Investigation of Some Key Variables". *International Organization* 55.01 (2001), pp. 183–208; Virginia Page Fortna. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace". *International Organization* 57.2 (2003), pp. 337–372; Virginia Page Fortna. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War". *International studies quarterly* 48.2 (2004), pp. 269–292; Nilsson, "Partial Peace"; Michaela Mattes and Burcu Savun. "Fostering Peace after Civil War: Commitment Problems and Agreement Design". *International Studies Quarterly* 53.3 (2009), pp. 737–759; Karl DeRouen Jr, Jenna Lea, and Peter Wallensteen. "The Duration of Civil War Peace Agreements". *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26.4 (2009), pp. 367–387; Monica Duffy Toft. *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009; Michaela Mattes and Burcu Savun. "Information, Agreement Design, and the Durability of Civil War Settlements". *American Journal of Political Science* 54.2 (2010), pp. 511–524; Desirée Nilsson. "Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace". *International Interactions* 38.2 (2012), pp. 243–266; Aila M. Matanock. "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict". *International Security* 41.4 (2017), pp. 93–132, among many others.

[3] There is a significant literature on non-state actors (either factions within the signatory rebel group or rebel groups excluded from the peace process) that attempt to derail peace processes and thus alter conflict dynamics between governments and signatory groups. How peace processes affect conflict dynamics between governments and non-signatory groups is a distinct question.

settlements with some rebel groups can strengthen governments' hands in conflicts with other rebel groups.

The first part of this chapter lays out how exclusive peace agreements can help governments in their battles against the excluded rebel groups. I analyze how exclusive peace agreements alter the distribution of power in civil wars. Exclusive peace agreements allow governments to limit the number of fronts they need to spread resources across as well as bolster their reputations at home and abroad. I then discuss the advantages exclusive peace agreements bring the signing rebel groups. Exclusive settlements often include high-value concessions to rebel groups, as well as solutions to the commitment problems that often deter warring parties from signing mutually beneficial accords. Additionally, rebel groups may be compelled to sign an exclusive agreement to gain legitimacy relative to their peer competitors, or if rebel groups fear the alternative is to be excluded from a peace accord the government signs with another rebel group.

While all exclusive peace agreements can limit the number of fronts a government must fight on, the content of the agreement can further improve the quality of a government's counterinsurgency operations. Governments can supplement their counterinsurgency capabilities by incorporating rebel soldiers into the national armed forces. In agreeing to participate in governments' counterinsurgency campaigns, rebel groups gain confidence that government won't renege on a deal. In the second part of this chapter I examine the dynamics that underly warring parties agreeing to merge militaries as part of a negotiated settlement.

Peace agreement provisions for military integration[4] are often seen as mechanisms to reduce rebel groups' vulnerability during the implementation of a peace accord. I posit that military integration serves an additional function: to enhance governments' counterinsurgency capabilities. I outline the costs and benefits of military integration for governments, stressing the environments when governments are most likely to value military integration. I then examine why rebel groups are willing to sign accords that put their soldiers in the army of their enemy. By consolidating war fronts and incorporating rebel soldiers into government counterinsurgency offensives, peace agreements in one conflict function as war-fighting tools for another.

2.1 Exclusive Peace Agreements

2.1.1 Why Governments Sign Exclusive Peace Deals

This section outlines two ways exclusive peace agreements can strengthen governments' counterinsurgency operations against other insurgent forces. Exclusive peace agreements (1) allow governments to consolidate the number of fronts they are fighting on and redirect military resources towards the wars with other rebel groups and (2) enhance governments' domestic and international reputations.

[4]The terms military power-sharing and military integration are used interchangeably.

First, combatting more than one rebel group strains governments' military abilities by dividing resources across multiple wars. Two circumstances further amplify the cost of fighting more than one rebel group. As the distance between the locations of two insurgencies grows, so does the cost of shifting resources between war fronts. Similarly, differences in the nature of the conflicts, such as fighting in urban and rural settings or battling groups with different organizational structures, may also increase the inefficiencies inherent in fighting multiple rebel groups. Governments that would otherwise be able to defeat a moderately strong rebel group may be unable to do so when tied down by multiple insurgencies.

Signing exclusive peace agreements can reduce the number of fronts across which governments must divide material and human resources. Governments can then redirect previously encumbered weapons, troops, and equipment into the battles against the remaining rebel forces. Governments are more likely to achieve a military victory after dedicating additional resources to a conflict. Even when a military victory is not possible, governments may benefit from an exclusive peace agreement. A stronger counterinsurgency capability puts governments in a better bargaining position during peace talks and can help governments to ultimately secure more favorable negotiated settlements. By signing an exclusive peace deal, governments can alter the outcome of wars with other groups.

Failure to recognize the complex motivations behind peace agreements often leads analysts to misdiagnose their likely effect. This difficulty is compounded by intentional misdirection from the parties involved. After all, signatories to an agreement have an incentive to portray a negotiated settlement as a tool for creating peace. Taking signatories at their word can easily lead an evaluator to incorrectly predict a settlement's long-term outcome.

For example, in 2000, the government of Burundi signed the Arusha Accords with only three of the five active insurgent groups in the conflict — Frolina, Palipehutu, and the National Council for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD). Most observers regarded the exclusion the Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD) and the National Forces of Liberation (FNL) as a significant impediment to peace. For example, at the time of the signing, the International Crisis Group reported that the peace agreement was an "obvious failure" in its likely ability to bring peace to Burundi.[5]

In the short term, these expectations were fulfilled. Violence between the government and the two excluded groups spiked a month after the accord was signed.[6] After signing the agreement, the government focused on regaining a favorable military position vis-à-vis the remaining rebel forces.[7] The army's offensive in 2002 was the largest military offensive since the coup that had brought President Pierre Buyoya to power in 1996.[8]

Over the next five years, the government concentrated its military capabilities on at-

[5]International Crisis Group. *Burundi: Neither War nor Peace*. International Crisis Group, 2000, p. 2.

[6]International Crisis Group. *Burundi: Breaking the Deadlock, the Urgent Need for a New Negotiating Framework*. 2001, p. 2.

[7]International Crisis Group. *The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations*. 2002, p. 3; International Crisis Group. "Burundi after Six Months of Transition: Continuing the War or Winning Peace?" (2002), p. 10.

[8]International Crisis Group, *The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations*, pp. 3–4.

tacking the FDD and the FNL. This targeted campaign resulted in significant victories for government forces.[9] By 2002 the government was able to reach a peace agreement with the FDD.[10] This allowed the state to further consolidate its military forces against the FNL. The subsequent campaign against the FNL included deploying FDD troops as members of the Burundian army.[11] A peace deal was ultimately reached with the FNL in 2006. This last peace agreement was extremely favorable to the government. The International Crisis Group wrote that the 2006 accord "seemed more like a surrender than a genuine peace agreement."[12]

Burundi's actions in this conflict demonstrate how exclusive peace agreements may consolidate conflict, rather than conclude it. By signing a series of exclusive peace deals, the government was able to strengthen its counterinsurgency campaigns against groups excluded from the peace agreements. Therefore, initial analyses that predicted conflict due to the exclusion of the FDD and FNL were correct in the narrow case but failed to grasp the bigger picture.

The case of Burundi is not unique. In a diverse set of multiparty conflicts, regimes double-down on fights against some rebel group after signing a peace accord with others. In the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after the Washington Agreement brought peace between the Bosniak government and Croatian forces, the pair cooperated in military campaigns to secure victories against Serb forces.[13] In a similar vein, Afghan and American commanders used a ceasefire with the Taliban to intensify operation against the Islamic State in June of 2018.[14] A historian of the Colombian civil conflict, reflecting on the exclusive peace agreements (referred to as partial negotiations) signed in the 1980s and early 1990s, writes:

> "[P]eace agreements have been signed with different groups: in 1990 with the M-19; in 1991 with the EPL (Ejército Popular de Liberación), the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores), and Quintín Lame; and in 1994 with the CRS (Corriente de Renovación Socialista). This model of negotiation, of dealing with guerrilla groups one by one, yields a very peculiar image of Colombia because it can be presented simultaneously as an example of successful negotiation, as it was to some extent during the first year of Betancur's administration, or as a counter-example of a never-ending conflict. Doses of peace seem to equal programmed war. Partial negotiations, the Colombian experience seems to indicate, do not arrest the magnitude of the overall conflict, but simply serve as space for

[9] International Crisis Group, *The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations*, pp. 3–4.

[10] International Crisis Group, *The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations*; International Crisis Group. *End of Transition in Burundi: The Home Stretch.* 2004.

[11] Cyrus Samii. "Perils or Promise of Ethnic Integration? Evidence from a Hard Case in Burundi". *American Political Science Review* 107.03 (2013), pp. 558–573.

[12] International Crisis Group. *Burundi: Finalising Peace with the FNL.* Aug. 28, 2007, p. 2.

[13] Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*, pp. 149–212.

[14] Carlo Muñoz. "U.S., Afghan Forces to Intensify Operations against ISIS Cell during Taliban Cease-Fire". *Washington Times* (June 8, 2018).

the repositioning of the principal actors in the war."[15]

When faced with more than one rebel group, across a wide number of cases, peace agreements have allowed governments to refocus military resources and attention against a subset of insurgent forces.

Governments that sign exclusive peace agreements can also improve their reputations at home and abroad. An exclusive peace deal allows governments to manufacture a narrative juxtaposing their peace-seeking regime against the unyielding rebel groups that are not signatories to any accord. For example, after signing the Arusha Accords, Burundian President Buyoya earned a reputation as a man of peace even though the agreement did not include the major insurgent groups in the conflict.[16] Signing an inclusive peace agreement may do the most to burnish a government's reputation. However, signing an exclusive peace agreement may be sufficient for governments to demonstrate they are willing to compromise with 'reasonable' rebel groups.

Governments and their supporters may describe excluded rebel groups as potential spoilers to a peace process. This narrative can justify future offensives against excluded groups in defense of the peace. For example, after signing a peace agreement with the 19th of April Movement (M-19) and beginning peace processes with the People's Liberation Army (EPL), the Colombian government framed the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) as recalcitrant against Colombia's march towards peace, which warranted an aggressive government offensive against the group.[17] In Burundi, two years after the signing of the Arusha Accords, the government asked international actors to mobilize against the remaining rebel forces and impose sanction on the groups in defense of the peace process.[18] Governments that sign exclusive peace accords and redouble their fight against excluded rebel groups can frame counterinsurgency warfare as the defense of a peace process.

Exclusive peace agreements can alter citizens' perceptions of the regime. Civilians support rebel groups when they are discontent with the status quo. Peace agreement concessions can address these grievances by creating more inclusive government institutions and/or modifying government policy. Such policy changes may win the 'hearts and minds' of civilians.[19] Peace agreements can strengthen civilians' perceptions of government legitimacy

[15] Gonzalo Sánchez. "Introduction: Problems of Violence, Prospects for Peace". *Violence in Colombia, 1990-2000: Waging War and Negotiating Peace*. Ed. by Charles Bergquist, Ricardo Peñaranda, and Gonzalo Sánchez. Wilmington, DE,: Scholarly Resources Books, 2001, pp. 1–38, pp. 25–26.

[16] The government of Burundi adopted framing the excluded rebel groups as 'negative forces,' the term used to define rebel groups excluded from the 1999 Lusaka peace agreement intended to end civil conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The term was used to distinguish rebel groups that signed the agreement and those who were not a party to the accord and thus should be forcefully disarmed. International Crisis Group, *Burundi*, p. 38; International Crisis Group, *The Burundi Rebellion and the Ceasefire Negotiations*.

[17] Marc Chernick. "Negotiating Peace amid Multiple Forms of Violence: The Protracted Search for a Settlement to the Armed Conflicts in Colombia". *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America*. Ed. by Cynthia Arnson. Washington, D.C: Stanford University Press, 1999, pp. 159–200, p. 180.

[18] International Crisis Group, "Burundi after Six Months of Transition", p. 11.

[19] Eli Berman, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq". *Journal of Political Economy* 119.4 (2011), pp. 766–819.

and thus undermine individuals' rationales for joining or supporting the remaining insurgent groups.

For example, in Afghanistan, the government of Ashraf Ghani signed a peace agreement with Hezb-i-Islami's leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in an attempt to reduce civilian support for the Taliban. A contemporary source argues that this was a significant good Hekmatyar brought to the government in signing an accord,

> "Hekmatyar's potential to sway minds among insurgents and their supporters, if he chooses to, stems from his outsized role in promoting the narrative of jihad for over 40 years. From exile, he fed the minds of probably thousands of followers (not all necessarily Hezbis) through his prolific writing and media interviews. He has authored more than 70 books on religion, politics and jihad. His anti-'occupation' position and his tirades against the government over the past 15 years have granted him a distinct constituency in Afghanistan and admirers from across the jihadist spectrum throughout the region. During the current insurgency, he (and HIG [Hezb-i-Islami Gulbuddin] as a whole) was undoubtedly the second key contributor, after the Taleban, to crafting a very vocal, anti-state narrative. Hekmatyar's rhetorical war was always much louder than Hezb's actual presence on the battlefield. As long as he managed to feed that unabated, anti-state narrative, he continued to play a role, even if he did not have many fighters on the ground."[20]

The Taliban fought to re-establish an Afghan government that would impose a strict interpretation of Sharia law. The Ghani government anticipated that signing a peace agreement with Hekmatyar, a respected jihadi, would strengthen the government's Islamist credentials. As such, the government hoped that a peace agreement with Hezb-i-Islami would undermine support for the Taliban among ordinary people as well as change the minds of some Taliban fighters.[21]

Signing an exclusive peace agreement can also enhance governments' reputations in the eyes of the international community. International audiences are likely to applaud governments' peace overtures, even if the negotiations exclude one or more warring parties. For example, in 2005, the EU praised the exclusive peace deal struck between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), while simultaneously pressuring the government to include additional warring parties into future peace processes.[22] In 1994, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Ministers Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin won the Nobel Peace Prize for the Oslo Peace Accords, even though the agreement failed to include important warring parties such as Hamas.[23] Similarly, Colombian

[20]Borhan Osman. "Peace with Hekmatyar: What Does It Mean for Battlefield and Politics". *Afghanistan Analysts Network* (Sept. 29, 2016).
[21]Ibid.
[22]Sudan Tribune. "EU Praises Sudan Peace Deal, Pegs New Aid to Progress in Darfur" (Jan. 3, 2005).
[23]John Darnton. "Rabin and Arafat Reported to Share Nobel". *The New York Times. World* (Oct. 12, 1994).

President Juan Santos received the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize for signing a peace treaty with the FARC, even though the peace agreement excluded the important National Liberation Army (ELN).[24]

In the Southern Philippines, the government was able to use an exclusive peace agreement with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to address international pressure for peace while continuing to wage war. In the 1990s, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) had an interest in bringing an end to the civil war between the government of the Philippines and the Muslim Moro inhabitants of the southern Philippines.[25] The government of the Philippines was able to convince members of the OIC not to impose oil sanctions on the country by signing an exclusive peace agreement with the MNLF.[26] The agreement appeased OIC countries even while the national armed forces continued to attack the Islamist insurgent groups excluded from the peace process.

Support from the international community can alter the likely outcome of a civil conflict. International support can manifest in development aid, access to arms, or assistance in enforcing the peace accord. Failing to maintain a positive reputation abroad risks sanctions from major powers and limits on governments' available arms supplies. Although the international community may prefer inclusive peace agreements, signing an exclusive agreement may be sufficient to improve the regime's international reputation.

The dynamics of multiparty conflicts are different than other civil wars. Governments are significantly less likely to achieve a military victory in multiparty conflicts.[27] We should expect governments to adopt radical strategies to address the inherent difficulty of multiparty civil conflicts. Exclusive peace agreements allow governments to focus military resources against the remaining insurgent threats. These agreements also give governments a strategic advantage by framing the regime as an agent of peace.

2.1.2 Why Rebel Groups Sign Exclusive Peace Deals

Why do rebel groups sign exclusive accords? By creating additional strain on the regime and its military, one might think that the presence of other insurgent forces only enhances a given rebel group's viability absent an accord. However, I argue that, contrary to expectations, the threat posed by other rebel groups increases the likelihood rebel groups will sign an exclusive peace agreement.

Rebel groups are likely to sign an exclusive peace agreement when governments are fighting difficult multiparty conflicts for four reasons. Exclusive peace agreements (1) often include valuable concessions rebel groups would not otherwise be able to extract, as well as (2) provide solutions to the commitment problems that often deter rebel groups from

[24]Nicholas Casey. "Colombia's President, Juan Manuel Santos, Is Awarded Nobel Peace Prize". *The New York Times. World* (Oct. 7, 2016).

[25]The conflict in the Mindanao region of the Philippines is discussed further in Chapter 4.

[26]Mara Stankovitch and Andy Carl. "One Step Towards Peace: The 'Final Peace Agreement' in Mindanao". *Compromising on Autonomy: Mindanao in Transition*. Ed. by Mara Stankovitch. Vol. 6. 1999, pp. 66–75.

[27]Cunningham, *Barriers to Peace in Civil War*.

accepting favorable deals. Furthermore, exclusive peace deals (3) aid rebel groups in their competition with other organizations for legitimacy and (4) insurgents fear that should they reject peace negotiations, governments will sign exclusive peace accords with others, allowing the government to redouble their military efforts against them.

First, when pressured by multiple rebel groups, governments are willing to make valuable concessions to secure a peace deal. An exclusive peace agreement can be extremely valuable to a government. When signing an exclusive agreement, governments make concessions to *only* the signatory groups but gain security across *all* conflicts. As a consequence, during peace negotiations, rebel groups can demand large concessions that reflect the rebel groups' objectives. Governments should prefer an exclusive settlement to continued fighting even if the agreement includes sizable concessions.

Power-sharing is one of the most significant concessions rebel groups can extract during peace negotiations. Power-sharing arrangements may include granting rebel leaders positions within the executive branch or a quota within the legislature.[28] Where rebel groups fight for secessionist causes, peace agreements can redistribute governing power to regional entities.[29] Alternatively, peace agreements may include provisions for economic power-sharing, such as recalibrating how tax revenue is disbursed or how the rights to natural resources are distributed.[30] Finally, peace agreements may call for governments to share military power with rebel groups by integrating rebel soldiers into the national military. It is this last concession that is discussed in-depth in the second half of this chapter.

Rebel groups are able to leverage a government's fight with other rebel groups to obtain these concessions. The cost of a government's war with a given insurgent group is not only the resources and lives lost in fighting that conflict. A war's costs include the opportunity cost of the government committing resources to the fight against this rebel group and not another. In the language of the bargaining model of conflict, fighting a multi-front war increases the governments' cost of conflict with any given rebel group, which broadens the range of possible settlements that governments will accept. Within this range, rebel groups suing for peace will find more favorable bargains than they would otherwise.

Second, exclusive peace agreements can ease the commitment problems that often plague negotiated settlements. Even where all signatories intend to abide by the terms of a peace agreement, each side may fear their adversary will seize the offensive while they comply.[31] While both sides may reasonably maintain this fear, rebel groups are especially vulnerable during the implementation of a peace accord. This is because peace agreements often demand rebel forces disarm yet rarely require government soldiers to do so.[32] As such, mechanisms

[28]Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie. *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars*. University Park: Penn State Press, 2007.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Barbara F. Walter. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement". *International Organization* 51.3 (1997), pp. 335–364.

[32]Isak Svensson. "Who Brings Which Peace?: Neutral versus Biased Mediation and Institutional Peace Arrangements in Civil Wars". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2009), pp. 446–469.

to reassure rebel groups that governments will not renege on a peace deal can facilitate a mutually beneficial negotiated settlement.[33]

I argue that, holding all other factors equal, a government's commitment to an exclusive peace deal in a multiparty conflict is more credible than other accords. In multiparty conflicts, abiding by an exclusive peace agreement preserves governments' objectives: to limit the number of fronts on which they have to fight. For as long as other rebel groups threaten the security of the regime, the government has a strategic incentive to respect the terms of the agreement. To pull out of a peace accord would open an additional front in what may be an already difficult conflict. While this assurance may not last forever, as long as governments face other violent challengers, rebel groups should be relatively confident that governments will not defect from peace agreements. As the hazard other groups pose to governments increases, so does the cost of pulling out of an agreement and re-opening conflict with the signing groups. As a consequence, the larger the threat posed by other insurgent groups, the greater the governments' credibility in their promises to abide by the terms of accords.

This commitment mechanism, however, dissolves when a government's conflict with the excluded rebel groups reaches an end, either through military victory or a negotiated settlement. Given the temporality of the commitment device, why would rebel groups find an exclusive peace deal compelling? Rebel groups may anticipate that governments' fights with excluded insurgent forces will extend far into the future. Rebel groups are most vulnerable in the period immediately after an agreement has been signed. For rebel groups, demobilization creates short-term security risks while commitment devices such as political power-sharing are structured to provide security over the long-term.[34] While warring parties may try to thoughtfully sequence demobilization and power-sharing, this disjuncture often makes the early stages of peace agreement implementation the most hazardous for rebel groups. A government's fight with other insurgent groups may not last forever, but may last long enough to secure the signing group through this period. Rebel groups may hope that once governments' wars with the excluded rebel groups end, the peace with the signatory rebel group will have become normalized and the structures of power-sharing will have taken root. In these cases, the government's incentives to pull out of the agreement will have substantially diminished by the time the commitment mechanism disappears.

Third, rebel groups agree to exclusive agreements to strengthen their position vis-à-vis peer competitors. A rebel group's competition with other organizations may be just as an important of a factor in guiding strategy as the group's fight with the government. Rebel groups often rejected peace deals that benefit their constituency when the deal is offered to a competing organization.[35] For example, Cunningham et al. (2012) theorize that the inter-factional struggle for political relevance is *the* driving mechanism of groups' strategic decision-making within self-determination movements.[36] Governments' willingness

[33]Svensson, "Who Brings Which Peace?"

[34]Walter, *Committing to Peace*, pp. 27–31.

[35]Pearlman, "Spoiling inside and Out".

[36]Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Kristin M. Bakke, and Lee J.M. Seymour. "Shirts Today, Skins

to negotiate with certain groups can provide a patina of legitimacy; it is a sign that the governments consider the group to be equal partners.[37]

When rebel leadership agrees to a peace deal, they risk defections from both civilians and rebel soldiers who support continuing the fight. However, when offered generous deals, rebel leaders can trumpet the concessions they were able to obtain. Doing so affirms the group's role as the most effective representative of their constituency. Such persuasive advantages are particularly important for rebel groups that are facing strong competitors or a crowded field. The more threatening other rebel groups are, the more pressure rebel groups should feel to distinguish themselves in the marketplace for civilian support.

An exclusive peace agreement can also bolster rebel groups in their competition with other organizations for international support. Rebel groups with a reputation for brutality can become absolved in the eyes of the international community by agreeing to a peace process. Johnston (2007) writes about the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA),

> "the non-signatory factions became viewed as 'spoilers' who were responsible for perpetuating the humanitarian crisis in Darfur because of their unwillingness to sign the DPA. Ironically, Minawi, [signatory to the DPA] known in Darfur as the most bloodthirsty of the rebel leaders, became known internationally as a champion of peace, while Abdel Wahid, renowned by many locally as a hero, was cast internationally as a greedy villain who intentionally chose to prolong the suffering of his Fur co-ethnics. This inadvertently legitimated attacks against non-signatory factions."[38]

This quest for legitimacy relative to peer competitors can dictate rebel group behavior. For example, in Burundi in 2001, the leader of the FDD, Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye, was overthrown in an organizational coup by Jean-Pierre Nkurunziza. The faction that remained loyal to Ndayikengurukiye sought to rebound against their diminished status by positioning itself as a group amenable to a peace accord. This faction hoped to gain international attention and recognition by presenting itself as the faction of the FDD willing to sign a settlement.[39]

Signing a settlement can make a rebel group the focal organization representing an ethnic, religious, or political minority. There are direct material advantages to this legitimacy. For example, the Oslo Accord's recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the representative of the Palestinian people allowed the PLO to monopolize the distribution of foreign aid, jobs, and other forms of patronage.[40] Signing an exclusive peace agreement

Tomorrow: Dual Contests and the Effects of Fragmentation in Self-Determination Disputes". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56.1 (2012), pp. 67–93.

[37] Bapat, "Insurgency and the Opening of Peace Processes".

[38] Patrick Johnston. "Negotiated Settlements and Government Strategy in Civil War: Evidence from Darfur". *Civil Wars* 9.4 (2007), pp. 359–377, p. 370.

[39] International Crisis Group, "Burundi after Six Months of Transition", p. 11.

[40] Pearlman, "Spoiling inside and Out", p. 98.

can change rebel groups' reputations at home and abroad, resulting in significant material benefits.

Finally, when a civil conflict involves only one rebel group, governments cannot forum shop for different peace partners. However, in multiparty conflicts, rebel groups that decline offers to negotiate a peace accord risk losing concessions to other groups. In Burundi, after the FDD split into two factions, the faction lead by Ndayikengurukiye sought a peace agreement with the government, partially out of fear that they would not be given concessions, such as positions in the Burundian army, if the other faction was able to come to a peace accord with the government first.[41] Furthermore, if governments are able to successfully conclude a peace agreement with other insurgent forces, a rebel group may find themselves facing a stronger, undivided government military force.[42]

When governments struggle to fight more than one insurgency one might reasonably conclude that the multiparty nature of a conflict only strengthens the viability of a rebel group absent an accord. I argue that as the threat *other* rebel groups pose to a regime increases, rebel groups should become *more* likely to sign an accord. Governments under the stress of a multiparty conflict agree to settlements that are more favorable to rebel forces. Additionally, the incentive for governments to keep military attention on the remaining insurgency strengthens the credibility of the government's commitment. Exclusive peace agreements strengthen the legitimacy of signing rebel groups, and by signing an accord, rebel groups assure they are not left on the outside of an alternative accord.

2.2 Military Power-Sharing

2.2.1 Current Conceptualizations of Power-Sharing

Thus far, my theory strives to explain warring parties' decision to sign an exclusive peace agreement. Below, I argue that the dynamics of multiparty conflicts also influence the design of peace agreements.[43] Provisions for military integration call for rebel soldiers to be brought into the national armed forces, or for a wholly new military to be established that includes insurgent actors. Some provisions include the incorporation of rebel leaders into high-ranking positions within the military.

At first, it is puzzling why two factions that have been fighting a violent conflict for months, years, or even decades would be willing to merge organizations. Yet, provisions for

[41] International Crisis Group, "Burundi after Six Months of Transition", p. 16.

[42] Nilsson, "Turning Weakness into Strength Military Capabilities, Multiple Rebel Groups and Negotiated Settlements".

[43] While a significant literature examines the effects of various settlement provisions on peace durability, the separate question of why peace agreements ultimately include one provision over another has received little attention. This is a significant omission since the content of these agreements in part determines their effect. Caroline Hartzell. "Mixed Motives? Explaining the Decision to Integrate Militaries at Civil War's End". *New Armies from Old: Merging Competing Military Forces after Civil Wars*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014, pp. 13–26.

the integration of rebel soldiers into national militaries have become more common every decade since the end of World War II.[44] The current literature outlines four possible explanations for why warring parties agree to include military power-sharing within intrastate peace accords: military integration fosters reconciliation, provides a solution to the commitment problem, provides jobs for rebel soldiers, or signals conciliatory intent.

The first explanation posits that an integrated military serves as a model for reconciliation within society at large.[45] Advocates see the military as a 'school for the nation' where prejudices between former warring parties are broken down. The idea of the military as the vanguard institution for the reshaping of society is an old one.[46] Militaries have historically been central to the process of state and nation-building.[47] The military serves as a unique well-positioned institution for creating social change. Soldiers are expected to follow strict rules, including when they contradict personal opinion. Individuals from different backgrounds work under the shared vision of national service.[48] When civil conflicts are fought along identity-based cleavages, such as between ethnic or religious groups, the military can be a structured space for post-war social contact between groups and the establishment of across-group social bonds.[49] In support of this argument, Samii finds that the integration of Hutu soldiers into the Burundian armed forces reduced ethnic prejudice between Hutu and Tusi soldiers.[50] This first explanation sees military power-sharing as motivated by the idea of the military as a central civic institution for post-war reconciliation.

The second rationale posits that military power-sharing is a solution to the commitment problems of peace agreement implementation.[51] Rebel groups are often wary to commit to a peace agreement that requires the rebel group to disarm. Rebel groups fear that the government will renege on a deal after the group has given up the weapons that provide

[44] Hartzell, "Mixed Motives? Explaining the Decision to Integrate Militaries at Civil War's End", pp. 15–17.

[45] Florence Gaub. *Military Integration after Civil Wars: Multiethnic Armies, Identity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. Routledge, 2011; Ronald R. Krebs and Roy Licklider. "United They Fall: Why the International Community Should Not Promote Military Integration after Civil War". *International Security* 40.3 (2016), pp. 93–138, p. 94.

[46] Morris Janowitz. "Military Institutions and Citizenship in Western Societies". *Armed forces & society* 2.2 (1976), pp. 185–204; Ronald R. Krebs. "A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might". *International Security* 28.4 (2004), pp. 85–124; Gaub, *Military Integration after Civil Wars*, pp. 3–4.

[47] Charles Tilly. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990*. Studies in Social Discontinuity. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1990.

[48] Sven Gunnar Simonsen. "Building "National" Armies—Building Nations? Determinants of Success for Postintervention Integration Efforts". *Armed Forces & Society* 33.4 (2007), pp. 571–590.

[49] Gaub, *Military Integration after Civil Wars*.

[50] Samii, "Perils or Promise of Ethnic Integration?"

[51] Walter, *Committing to Peace*; Bjørn Møller and Gavin Cawthra. "Integration of Former Enemies into National Armies in Fragile African States". *Fragile States and Insecure People?: Violence, Security, and Statehood in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. by Louise Andersen, Bjørn Møller, and Finn Stepputat. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; Mattes and Savun, "Fostering Peace after Civil War"; Matthew Christopher Martin. "Into the Fold: Security Fears and Power Sharing, the Credible Commitment of Rebel Military Integration and Durable Peace". PhD Thesis. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2017.

both bargaining power and protection for the group.[52] Military integration minimizes rebels' vulnerability during the implementation of a peace accord.

Military power-sharing allays fears by giving rebel groups a degree of control over the state's coercive capacity. Allowing some rebel soldiers to remain armed within the military permits rebel groups to quickly mobilize a violent opposition if the government defects from an accord.[53] As such, military integration increases the cost to governments of defecting from an agreement, which should increase rebels' confidence that governments won't renege on a deal.[54] For example, when asked about the role of the United Nations as guarantor of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the SPLM/A and the government of Sudan, the rebel group's leader John Garang responded that only the agreement provisions that designated rebel soldiers would serve in an official armed capacity guaranteed the peace,

> "The fact that Southern Sudan will have its own separate army during the interim unity in addition to the integrated forces and other security forces, is the only fundamental guarantor and indeed the cornerstone for the survival of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement."[55]

The third explanation posits that provisions for military integration are included in intrastate peace accords to provide economic rents to rebel soldiers in the form of employment.[56] In this way, military integration parallels civilian reintegration programs by providing economic incentives against rebel group remobilization. Drawing on theories that posit that material 'greed' serves as a stronger explanation for civil war violence than political 'grievances,'[57] Glassmyer and Sambanis conclude that programs for military integration and civilian reintegration are often substitutable. They argue that military integration is used to deal with an 'excess supply' of rebel soldiers beyond what civilian reintegration can handle.[58]

Economic incentives may motivate both government leaders and rebel groups to push for military integration. In the wake of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979, the government of Rhodesia agreed to military integration to provide economic security to ex-

[52] Walter, *Committing to Peace*.

[53] Katherine Glassmyer and Nicholas Sambanis. "Rebel—Military Integration and Civil War Termination". *Journal of Peace Research* 45.3 (2008), pp. 365–384; Margit Bussmann. "Military Integration, Demobilization, and the Recurrence of Civil War". *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 13.1 (2019), pp. 95–111.

[54] Case studies that highlight this mechanism include Williams (2002) on South Africa transition from apartheid in 1993 and LeRiche (2014) on Sudan's 1972 peace agreement.

[55] Arop Madut-Arop. *Sudan's Painful Road to Peace: A Full Story of the Founding and Development of SPLM/SPLA*. BookSurge, 2006.

[56] Glassmyer and Sambanis, "Rebel—Military Integration and Civil War Termination"; Desirée Nilsson and Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs. "Different Paths of Reconstruction: Military Reform in Post-War Sierra Leone and Liberia". *International peacekeeping* 20.1 (2013), pp. 2–16, p. 12; Bussmann, "Military Integration, Demobilization, and the Recurrence of Civil War", p. 96.

[57] See Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War". *Oxford economic papers* 56.4 (2004), pp. 563–595.

[58] Glassmyer and Sambanis, "Rebel—Military Integration and Civil War Termination".

combatants.[59]Similarly, the leadership of the MNLF in the Philippines negotiated for military integration to provide employment for its foot soldiers.[60] Doing so sustained political support for the group and deterred defection to the insurgent forces excluded from the peace process. By providing a consistent paying salary, military integration may increase the costs for soldiers of returning to war.

Finally, a more representative force can signal a government's commitment to post-war power-sharing more generally.[61] Governments that implement military power-sharing signal 'conciliatory intent,' reducing the likelihood of mistrust between parties.[62] According to Hartzell and Hodie, peace agreements are most durable when power is shared between warring parties across many dimensions of power.[63] Where the implementation of one form of power-sharing is stalled, other forms of power-sharing can provide signals to reassure the other party that both parties are still committed to the peace process.[64]

It should be noted that none of the four justifications listed above are mutually exclusive. Examining the military integration that occurred in Sudan as a consequence of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Warner's research finds support for all four rationales.[65] The integrated military units were designed to demonstrate national unity. In fulfilling this portion of the peace agreement, the signatory parties signaled a genuine willingness to compromise. As discussed above, military power-sharing gave SPLM/A greater confidence in the accord. Additionally, the durability of the agreement was enhanced by reducing the soldiers available to the armed groups outside of the peace process.

Where rebel groups decide to switch sides in civil war, why would governments and rebel

[59]Martin Rupiah. "Demobilisation And Integration: 'Operation Merger' and The Zimbabwe National Defence Forces, 1980–1987". *African Security Review* 4.3 (1995), pp. 52–64.

[60]Rosalie A. Hall. "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces". *New Armies from Old: Merging Competing Military Forces after Civil Wars*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2014, pp. 103–118.

[61]Hartzell and Hoddie, *Crafting Peace*; Mark Knight. "Military Integration and War Termination". *Monopoly of Force: The Nexus of DDR and SSR*. ed. by Melanie A. Civic and Michael Miklicauc. Washington, D.C: National Defense University Press, 2011.

[62]Anna K. Jarstad and Desirée Nilsson. "From Words to Deeds: The Implementation of Power-Sharing Pacts in Peace Accords". *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25.3 (2008), pp. 206–223; Martin Ottmann and Johannes Vüllers. "The Power-Sharing Event Dataset (PSED): A New Dataset on the Promises and Practices of Power-Sharing in Post-Conflict Countries". *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32.3 (2015), pp. 327–350.

[63]Hartzell and Hoddie, *Crafting Peace*. Hartzell (2014) shows that factors such as state capacity to implement military power-sharing or the presence of peacekeeping forces are positively correlated with the likelihood that a peace agreement includes military power-sharing. This, however, does not explain why governments and rebel groups agree to military power-sharing. Rather, these factors provide scope conditions on the viability of a program for military power-sharing, should warring parties agree to this type of peace agreement provision.

[64]Matthew Hoddie and Caroline Hartzell. "Power Sharing and Peace Settlements: Initiating the Transition from Civil War". *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil War*. Ed. by Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005, p. 84.

[65]Lesley Anne Warner. "The Role of Military Integration in War-to-Peace Transitions: The Case of South Sudan". Ph.D. Thesis. King's College London, 2018.

groups choose to formalize this relationship? Governments are often hesitant to include soldiers with dubious loyalty into their armed forces. I argue that as the threat posed by other rebel groups increases, the likelihood that a peace agreement includes a provision for military power-sharing also increases.

In this section, I argue that as the threat posed by other rebel groups increases, the likelihood that an exclusive peace agreement includes a provision for military power-sharing also increases. I first outline why a government looking to strengthen its army's counterinsurgency abilities would offer to incorporate rebel soldiers into their militaries. I then examine why rebel soldiers would be willing to join the very force they had risked their lives to battle.

2.2.2 Why Governments Sign Peace Deals that Include Military Integration

All exclusive peace agreements can strengthen governments' abilities to wage war against the remaining insurgent groups. Exclusive peace agreements can further enhance governments' counterinsurgency capabilities by transforming former adversaries into conflict allies.[66] To this end, peace agreements sometimes include provisions to integrate rebel soldiers into the existing national army or build an entirely new army that will include rebel soldiers.

Military integration is costly and a significant concession for governments to make.[67] Governments must pay for the training and salaries of new soldiers. The costs remain static. The advantages military power-sharing brings governments is variable. Where governments will continue to fight difficult conflicts after an agreement is signed, the utility of incorporating rebel soldiers increases substantially.

The incentives driving governments to merge their militaries with rebel groups are rendered quite clear in some cases. Some peace agreements even go so far as to specify the dual nature of the deal in the agreement text. For example, when the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo signed the Lusaka Accord in 1999 with the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) and the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC), the agreement specified that both parties were obligated to facilitate locating and disarming other active armed groups within the country.[68]

Most agreement texts are not so explicit but also result in signatory rebel groups cooperating with the government to fight other insurgent forces. Peace agreements that call for rebel soldiers to become members of the national military can improve counterinsurgency capabilities in three distinct ways: (1) by burnishing the government's reputation in the eyes of civilians, (2) increasing the government's reserves of troops and weapons, and (3) providing valuable local intelligence.

[66] Here I seek to explain the strategic decisions of warring organizations to join forces. Individual defections are an important phenomenon but beyond the scope of the theory.

[67] Hartzell, "Mixed Motives? Explaining the Decision to Integrate Militaries at Civil War's End". Other scholars see military integration as one of the less costly forms of political power-sharing governments can concede to. DeRouen Jr, Lea, and Wallensteen, "The Duration of Civil War Peace Agreements", p. 370

[68] *Lusaka Accord*. 1999.

First, military integration can reinforce a 'hearts and minds' approach to counterinsurgency. The exclusionary nature of the state, including the armed forces, is often one of rebels' motivating grievances.[69] Governments can counteract these charges by incorporating former rebel soldiers into their armed forces. Integrating rebel soldiers signals the state's commitment to a pluralist society in a highly visible way. Political power-sharing achieves a similar objective, but bringing rebel soldiers into the armed forces is an especially powerful gesture. Since marginalized groups often distrust the military as an agent that metes out repression and violence, military incorporation can be a meaningful concession to these communities.

The military not only participates in warfare but is also an important national symbol, communicating which groups governments trust to wield coercive power. A more demographically representative national military may increase the legitimacy of both the army and the regime.[70] In the Southern Philippines, the propaganda of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) argued that the Moro people were ruled by inherently anti-Islamic Christian central government. The integration of MNLF forces into the Armed Forces of the Philippines was used to undermine the salience of this message.[71] For the public, a military that includes individuals whom they trust or have an affinity with provides a sense of security and affirms that the group is a respected part of the nation. Scholars and practitioners have argued that by enhancing the legitimacy of the armed forces, military integration may decrease the likelihood of conflict recidivism,[72] I argue that this new-found legitimacy can serve a further purpose: to undermine popular support for the insurgent forces excluded from the peace process.

Second, integrating rebel soldiers into the national military increases the number of troops available for a government to deploy against the remaining rebel forces. Military integration can also increase a government's available firepower as rebel soldiers often bring their arms with them into the army.[73] The importance of force size in counterinsurgency should not be underestimated. Effective counterinsurgency is soldier intensive - it requires frequent patrols, extensive interactions with local populations, and stationing soldiers across large swaths of territory.[74]

[69] Where the armed forces are seen as the arm of an unjust and exclusionary central government, the police force is likely to be seen similarly. I've chosen to focus on the army as the central institution in the fight against insurgents and their supporters, though in many cases the police serve a similar function.

[70] Mats R. Berdal. *Disarmament and Demobilisation after Civil Wars: Arms, Soldiers and the Termination of Armed Conflicts*. Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1996; Krebs, "A School for the Nation?"; Simonsen, "Building "National" Armies—Building Nations?", p. 585.

[71] Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces".

[72] Ottmann and Vüllers, "The Power-Sharing Event Dataset (PSED)".

[73] Author's own assessment.

[74] Ahmed Hashim. *When Counterinsurgency Wins: Sri Lanka's Defeat of the Tamil Tigers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013; Sameer P. Lalwani. "Size Still Matters: Explaining Sri Lanka's Counterinsurgency Victory over the Tamil Tigers". *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 28.1 (2017), pp. 119–165; For dissent, see Jeffrey A. Friedman. "Manpower and Counterinsurgency: Empirical Foundations for

The case of Angola is demonstrative. The peace deal reached between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) preceded a large scale campaign against factions of the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC). After signing a peace agreement with UNITA, the government deployed 50,000 troops to the Cabinda region, including many former UNITA soldiers.[75]

Additionally, rebel soldiers may do the jobs that traditional military troops are unwilling to do. For example, after signing the Khartoum Peace Agreement, the government of Sudan found deploying the South Sudan Defence Force (SSDF) an effective counterinsurgency tactic against the SPLM/A.

> The SSDF was a most effective ally of the GoS [government of Sudan] in the conduct of the war. Militarily, it proved to be a force well able to challenge the SPLA at a time when the GoS army was increasingly reluctant to engage its enemy in the lead-up to the CPA [Comprehensive Peace Agreement]. The SSDF also successfully assisted in the defence of government assets, particularly the oil fields. It managed all of this on the cheap—most of its members were unpaid and received little training and few weapons. Politically, the use of the SSDF by the GoS deepened divisions in the South, weakening the appeal of the SPLM/A. At the same time, SSDF casualties assumed a portion of the death toll that would have fallen on northern fighters, and this reduced some of the political costs incurred by the GoS.

By integrating rebel soldiers into the armed forces, governments may be able to deploy integrated soldiers to insurgent fronts that they would not otherwise be able to send soldiers to. While inflating the size of the military risks inefficiencies, rebels integrated into a government's armed forces often make a unique and significant contribution to counterinsurgency campaigns.

Third, rebel soldiers bring a wealth of local knowledge into national militaries. Local intelligence is the lifeblood of effective counterinsurgency.[76] Integrating rebel soldiers can enhance the armed forces' organizational knowledge in three distinct ways. First, rebel soldiers contribute local geographic knowledge. Insurgencies are often fought in mountainous or peripheral areas.[77] The region an insurgency is being fought in may also be poorly mapped, giving the advantage to rebels using guerrilla tactics. The armed forces can counteract this effect by incorporating rebel soldiers that have lived and served in the areas where the insurgency operates.

For example, during the Apache Wars in the American Southwest, five thousand soldiers, a quarter of the U.S. Army, were deployed against the Apache leader Geronimo and his

Theory and Doctrine". *Security Studies* 20.4 (2011), pp. 556–591.

[75] Kristin Reed. *Crude Existence: Environment and the Politics of Oil in Northern Angola.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009, p. 144.

[76] Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson. "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars". *International Organization* 63.01 (2009), pp. 67–106.

[77] Fearon and Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War".

band. The colloquialism "it takes an Apache to catch an Apache" describes how fruitless the mission was until Apache scouts were hired to track Geronimo.[78] Similarly, in the 1950s, the Communist rebel group the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) was initially able to control territory on the Indonesian island of Sumatra. The civil war, however, reached a turning point when members of the local Communist Party's youth wing acted as scouts to guide government forces through the jungles to find PRRI bases.[79] When rebel groups rely on difficult terrain to hide, integration can bring into militaries soldiers with the ability to counter this advantage.

The second type of local knowledge rebel soldiers contribute to the armed forces is social knowledge. Insurgents often hide amongst a broader civilian population. Rebel groups gain a significant advantage where governments are unable to distinguish rebels from civilians. Rebel soldiers, especially if they are co-ethnics with the civilian population, have access to local information and networks that can be used to distinguish civilians and insurgents.

Lack of social literacy can hamper a counterinsurgency operation in many ways, but perhaps most importantly, civilians often hesitate to contribute information to an armed force that appears foreign and unfamiliar.[80] Local knowledge is also key to constructing disincentives for civilians to cooperate with rebel groups. Local knowledge allows government forces to wield selective rather than indiscriminate violence, which removes civilians' incentives to cooperate with rebel forces.[81] For example, during the Second Chechen War, Russian army patrols that included Chechen defectors were significantly more effective than their exclusively Russian patrol units. Army patrols that included Chechen soldiers were better able to identify insurgents within the general population and issue credible threats against civilian noncooperation.[82]

The third and final type of local knowledge rebel soldiers contribute to states' counterinsurgency offensives is expertise in the tactics of guerrilla warfare. Knowledge of the defensive mechanisms other groups will adopt allows militaries to respond accordingly, cutting off possible means of escape or likely plans for retaliation. For example, when former guerrilla tribesmen in British Malaya joined the government's Special Operational Volunteer Force, their knowledge and skills helped British security forces avoid likely ambushes.[83]

[78] David Roberts. *Once They Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo, and the Apache Wars*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

[79] Audrey Kahin. *Rebellion to Integration: West Sumatra and the Indonesian Polity, 1926-1998*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999, pp. 220–21.

[80] While I anticipate it should be preferable to deploy rebel soldiers to familiar areas, there are advantages to doing just the opposite. For example, former UNITA soldiers constituted a large portion of the Angolan army deployed against the insurgency in the Cabinda province. Some hypothesize that deploying these soldiers to unfamiliar terrain, where they did not know the language, have any family in the region, and thus were solely dependent on the military, served as a deterrent to soldier defection. Reed, *Crude Existence*, p. 150.

[81] Stathis N. Kalyvas. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

[82] Jason Lyall. "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War". *American Political Science Review* 104.1 (2010), pp. 1–20.

[83] Robert M. Cassidy. *Counterinsurgency and the Global War on Terror: Military Culture and Irregular*

I have argued that governments often have reservations about incorporating rebel soldiers into their armed forces, but when embroiled in a difficult multiparty conflict, governments may agree to do so for the counterinsurgency benefits that it brings. This begs the question, why would governments agree to military integration when signing an inclusive peace agreement?

In some instances, military integration may also function as a counterinsurgency strategy in inclusive peace agreements. Peace processes are a common cause of rebel group splintering.[84] Governments may believe a rebel group is likely to fragment during or after a peace process. If so, then governments will expect the civil conflict to continue after signing a peace accord. Alternatively, governments with weak state capacity may expect a new insurgent threat will soon appear. Governments may agree to military integration in these conflicts in the anticipation of fights to come. In these circumstances, governments may wish to strengthen their militaries' counterinsurgency capabilities in the ways outlined above.

2.2.3 Why Rebel Groups Sign Peace Deals that Include Military Integration

Why would a rebel group be willing to join with the very military it had vowed to defeat? This section outlines three reasons rebel groups agree to military integration. Military integration (1) often reflects rebel groups' preferences, (2) allows rebel leaders to consolidate control over their organizations, and (3) strengthens the credibility of governments' commitments to peace accords.

First, civil wars are often fought over a community's exclusion from their countries' governing institutions, including the military. Military integration gives these communities military power. As Fortna succinctly puts it, "Agreements entail concessions and compromise by both sides, but since rebels fight to change the status quo, whereas governments fight to maintain it, government concessions represent at least partial political victory for rebels."[85]

The composition of the armed forces after the end of a civil war is often a key point of contention in many peace agreements.[86] For example, Hutus in Burundi strongly criticized the exclusionary *armée monoethnique*. Rebel leadership prioritized integration into the Burundian armed forces during peace negotiations.[87] The Hutu FDD then heavily campaigned

War. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 159.

[84]Marie Olson Lounsbery and Alethia H. Cook. "Rebellion, Mediation, and Group Change An Empirical Investigation of Competing Hypotheses". *Journal of Peace Research* 48.1 (2011), pp. 73–84.

[85]Virginia Page Fortna. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes". *International Organization* (2012), pp. 1–38, p. 523.

[86]Ronald R. Krebs. "Military Dis-Integration: Canary in the Coal Mine?" *New Armies from Old: Merging Competing Military Forces after Civil Wars*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2014, pp. 245–257, p. 245.

[87]Nina Wilén. "From Foe to Friend? Army Integration after War in Burundi, Rwanda and the Congo". *International Peacekeeping* 23.1 (2016), pp. 79–106, p. 82.

on its successful integration into the security forces during the subsequent election.[88]

Furthermore, military integration can give rebel groups government support in fights they are eager to take on. For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2009, National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP) fighters were integrated at an 'accelerated' pace as a way to join the fight against the Democratic Forces for the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and "in fact, it is likely that the CNDP was only brought to the table [Goma peace negotiations] by the prospect of eliminating the FDLR."[89]

Military integration is not without risks for rebel leadership. Fighting alongside former enemies exposes rebel group leaders to charges of betraying the cause. By joining the armed forces, rebel leaders risk that their followers defect rather than collaborate with the enemy.[90] Rebels groups rarely get everything they want in negotiations for military integration. Nevertheless, the resulting power-sharing agreements generally represent a marked improvement from the status quo ante that instigated civil conflict.

Second, military integration allow rebel soldiers to consolidate control over their organization. To demonstrate, in Iraq, the public has decried the extralegal operations of the Shiite Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF). PMF leader Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis sought integration into a government ministry to gain official status and legitimize the force. Furthermore, Muhandis had struggled to consolidate his control over the diverse set of groups that constitute the PMF. Now that the PMF will become integrated into the Iraqi army, Muhandis intends to strengthen the group's internal hierarchy and central command by controlling which PMF factions will receive financial support from the state.[91] Similarly, in the Philippines, MNLF leaders determined which MNLF soldiers would be integrated into the armed forces. This gave the MNLF chairman a powerful tool for gaining loyalty and support.[92] Both rebel soldiers and leaders can gain money and power by becoming members of the armed forces. In many countries, a position in the military provides a relatively stable wage, far better than would otherwise be available.[93] Rebel groups that sign a peace accord with a government gain access to state resources not made available to excluded rebel groups. Signatory rebel groups have an incentive to defend this privileged status when excluded rebel groups challenge the post-war order.[94]

[88] Willy Nindorera. "The CNDD-FDD in Burundi: The Path from Armed to Political Struggle". *Berghof Transition Series* 10 (2012), pp. 25–27.

[89] Daniel H. Levine. "Civilian Protection and the Image of the 'Total Spoiler': Reflections on MONUC Support to Kimia II". *African Security Review* 20.1 (2011), pp. 95–113, p. 104.

[90] Lee J.M. Seymour. "Why Factions Switch Sides in Civil Wars: Rivalry, Patronage, and Realignment in Sudan". *International Security* 39.2 (2014), pp. 92–131.

[91] Renad Mansour. "Shiite Militias Are Taking Over the Iraqi State From the Inside". *Foreign Policy* (July 9, 2019).

[92] Soliman M. Santos Jr. "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 162–183.

[93] Glassmyer and Sambanis, "Rebel—Military Integration and Civil War Termination".

[94] Martin Ottmann. "Peace for Our Time? Examining the Effect of Power-Sharing on Postwar Rebellions".

Third, military integration can help resolve commitment problems, but not in the way currently envisioned in the literature. Many see military integration as a method for reducing rebel groups' vulnerability during the implementation of a peace accord by allowing a subset of rebel soldiers to remain armed.[95]

There is strong reason to doubt the ability of military power-sharing to resolve commitment problems in this fashion. Often military power-sharing does not call for the integration of a sufficient number of rebel soldiers to ensure the rebel organization is not vulnerable to assault during the implementation of an accord. Some peace agreements call for a major reform to the national military. In countries such as Angola, Burundi, Mozambique, Rwanda, and South Africa, peace agreements dictated that 40-80% of the national armed forces would be drawn from rebel soldiers.[96] These cases, however, are a minority.[97] The majority of the programs for military integration fail to protect rebel soldiers from post-conflict power asymmetry between rebel soldiers and government forces.[98] Where only hundreds or thousands of rebel soldiers are slated to be integrated into the national armed forces, this power asymmetry implies that government forces would easily be able to renege from a peace deal that included military integration.[99]

This framework sees military integration as a commitment device that, by allowing rebel groups to remain armed during the implementation of a peace accord, increases the *cost* of governments defecting on peace deals.[100] In contrast, I theorize that military integration serves as a commitment mechanism by increasing governments' *benefits* to remaining in a peace accord. By abiding by the terms of the peace agreement, the government ensures the cooperation of signatory rebel groups in its fight against other insurgent forces. Governments are especially unlikely to defect from agreements with rebel groups that are actively fighting other insurgencies on their behalf. For example, the government of Sudan's peace agreement with Minni Minnawi's faction of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA-MM) only unraveled when SLA-MM's contribution to the fight against other rebel groups became less effective.[101] States are unlikely to withdraw from deals that provide them with critical resources in their battle against non-signatory groups. As such, rebel groups that can offer vital support to the government's counterinsurgency offensives should have a high degree of confidence in the durability of their deal.

Despite the military being the very institution the group raised arms against, rebel groups seek to become part of the national armed forces for all these reasons. When difficult conflicts

Journal of Peace Research (2019), pp. 1–15.

[95]Walter, *Committing to Peace*.

[96]Stephen F. Burgess. "Fashioning Integrated Security Forces after Conflict". *African Security* 1.2 (2008), pp. 69–91.

[97]Hartzell, "Mixed Motives? Explaining the Decision to Integrate Militaries at Civil War's End", p. 19; Krebs, "Military Dis-Integration: Canary in the Coal Mine?"

[98]Glassmyer and Sambanis, "Rebel—Military Integration and Civil War Termination".

[99]Ibid.

[100]Hartzell and Hoddie, *Crafting Peace*; Glassmyer and Sambanis, "Rebel—Military Integration and Civil War Termination".

[101]Johnston, "Negotiated Settlements and Government Strategy in Civil War".

incentivize governments to offer military integration, we should expect rebel groups to accept. We should, therefore, anticipate provisions for military integration when governments most need a strengthened counterinsurgency capability. Specifically, we should see integration more often when the state faces strong rebel groups in a multiparty conflict.

2.3 Conclusion

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy builds on the intuition that in a civil war, a peace accord affects more than just the parties that sign it. In this chapter, I have outlined how peace agreements with some groups can affect conflict dynamics with excluded groups. Signing an exclusive peace accord allows governments to refocus their military capabilities against a narrower set of threats. Governments can also portray themselves to both domestic and international audiences as peaceful compromisers while doubling-down on war.

Rebel groups that are willing to negotiate with governments can leverage the threat posed by other rebel groups to their advantage. They may be able to obtain valuable concessions, including positions within the armed forces. Exclusive peace accords can give rebel groups an opportunity to white-wash their reputation as well as be presented as equal partners with the government in peace negotiations. This legitimacy can help rebel groups in their competition with peer organizations. By signing an exclusive peace agreement, both governments and rebel groups leverage the threat a third party poses to secure a favorable bargain.

I also argue that in multiparty conflicts, peace agreements do more than allow rebel groups to exit the conflict. Peace agreements can be a form of coalition-shifting whereby rebel groups come to fight alongside the government against other rebel forces. When the rallying cry of rebel groups is that the state is an inherently exclusionary institution, states pursuing a hearts and minds approach to counterinsurgency can undermine the validity of this claim by incorporating ex-combatants. Military integration provides governments with troops with local knowledge. Rebel soldiers also benefit from military integration. A position in the military gives both soldiers pay and prestige, which rebel leaders can use to consolidate control. Fighting on behalf of the government incentivizes governments to remain faithful to the terms of an agreement. Governments and rebel groups may agree that the best option for both parties is not for a rebel group to disappear, but for conflict adversaries to become conflict allies.

Chapter 3

Conflict Dynamics and Peace Agreements

In the previous chapter, I developed a theory that negotiated settlements are more than tools for resolving intrastate conflict. Intrastate peace agreements can help governments in their fights against rebel groups excluded from the settlements. These exclusive peace agreements free up military resources which governments can redirect to fight against the remaining insurgent forces. Doing so increases the likelihood of a government victory in these conflicts. If military victory is not possible, the redistribution of military resources puts governments in a better bargaining position in future peace talks. Additionally, governments can enhance their reputation in the eyes of domestic and international audiences by signing intrastate peace accords, even when the agreement excludes significant rebel groups.

Rebel groups in multiparty conflicts also benefit considerably from exclusive peace agreements. Rebel groups can leverage governments' need to consolidate the number of fronts on which they are fighting. If a peace accord strengthens a government's military position in its fight with other rebel groups, governments may prefer these settlements to continued fighting even if the agreements include large concessions. Rebel groups can successfully negotiate better bargains when other insurgent groups pose a formidable threat to the regime.

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy also posits that conflict dynamics influence the content of a peace agreement. Incorporating rebel soldiers into the military transforms conflict adversaries into allies. According to my theory, governments are more likely to sign peace accords that call for the integration of rebel soldiers into the national armed forces when rebel soldiers can assist in counterinsurgency operations against other groups. It is costly for governments to agree to military integration: paying the salaries of rebel soldiers is expensive and rebel soldiers have dubious loyalties. But when governments face dire multiparty insurgencies, they need intelligence and troops. Merging militaries with a rebel force offers both.

Becoming members of the national armed forces also functions as a commitment device. Governments are unlikely to renege on a peace deal when they depend on the signing rebel groups to fight their battles. When governments need rebel soldiers' aid, the promises to

cease hostilities become more credible. As such, both governments and rebel groups should be more likely to sign an exclusive accord when other rebel groups pose a significant threat to the regime. Multiparty conflict dynamics should also increase the likelihood that warring parties include military power-sharing within an exclusive peace accord.

Identifying causal relationships through observational data is difficult. This is especially true of theories involving perceptions and strategic incentives. A randomized controlled trial, however, is neither plausible nor desirable. The dynamics of a multiparty conflict are the result of several factors that may also influence the likelihood that warring parties sign a peace agreement. I include a number of variables in the model in an attempt to control for potential spuriousness.

Relying on observational data, this chapter provides tentative empirical evidence in support of the theory that exclusive peace agreements are strategies for fighting other rebel groups. A series of cross-national tests demonstrate that warring parties are more likely to sign exclusive peace agreements when there are many other rebel groups and when these groups are highly capable. Warring parties are also more likely to include in exclusive peace agreement provisions for the integration of rebel soldiers into the national military when other rebel groups pose a significant threat.

However, it is difficult to discern actors' objectives from observational data. In Chapter 4 I use a case study of conflict in the Southern Philippines to identify whether the threat posed by other rebel groups motivated actors to sign an exclusive accord. Supporting case research, however, does not speak to the generalizability of the phenomena. Testing when governments and rebel groups sign exclusive peace agreements, as well as peace agreements that include military power-sharing, provides evidence that across cases warring parties use peace agreements to respond to the threat posed by difficult multiparty conflicts. This test provides, albeit limited, support for a theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy.

In this chapter, I first present a hypothesis, derived from my theory, that links how threatening other rebel groups are with the incentives for governments and rebel groups to sign exclusive peace agreements. Next, I describe the data and model that is used to test the hypothesis. I first analyze whether the threat posed by other rebel groups within a single conflict predicts the signing of an exclusive peace agreement. Some governments have simultaneously fought more than one civil conflict. I subsequently test whether the threat posed by all other rebel groups in a *country* predicts the signing of an exclusive peace agreement. Then, drawing on my theory, I hypothesize that as other rebel groups become more threatening it becomes more likely that warring parties sign an exclusive agreement that includes provisions for military power-sharing. I test this second hypothesis, present the results, and conclude.

3.1 Hypothesis

An insurgency may pose a significant threat, even when the government possesses a preponderance of military force relative to any given group. Reliance on terrorism and guerrilla tactics allows militarily weak rebel groups to execute an outsized amount of violence. As such, governments often feel compelled to dedicate resources to protecting civilians and limiting the organizational growth of even extremely weak rebel groups.

This risk is multiplied when governments face several rebel groups. Each new entrant requires the government to allocate soldiers, weapons, and intelligence-gathering resources. And because these groups each pose distinct organizational challenges, they cannot simply be folded into existing military approaches. In particular, the need to divide resources across several theaters can seriously diminish any theoretical force advantage. As described in the introduction, governments may find that shifting the resources necessary to execute a large-scale offensive against any one insurgent group creates vulnerabilities in other areas of the country. Where insurgent groups operate in non-adjacent areas, governments that dedicate military resources to one campaign may be hard-pressed to quickly reposition government troops to fight other insurgent threats.

Not every multiparty conflict will generate this dynamic. But according to the theory of peace agreements as counterinsurgency, when governments do face this condition of multiplied military threat from multiple rebel groups, the conditions are ripe for negotiations toward an exclusive peace agreement.

Further refining the theory generates a number of testable predictions. First, the strength of the rebel groups in a conflict should determine whether a government perceives the status quo distribution of power as basically tolerable, or if extreme actions must be taken to alter the distribution of power in a conflict. In the former case, the government should perceive the conflict as a fight to prevent weak groups from gaining strength and territory. In the latter case, the government should perceive the conflict as an existential battle for the regime or national sovereignty. In these existential cases, where other rebel groups have a serious possibility of defeating the incumbent regime, governments should be expected to seek an environment that allows them to devote the full force of their military capacity toward the core threat. In such cases, an exclusive peace agreement, especially one that incorporates signatory rebel soldiers into the armed forces, should be more likely.

Second, rebel groups should be expected to regard exclusive peace agreements more favorably when the threat posed by other rebel groups rises. In single-party conflicts, a rebel group may be the presumed representative of a community. However, as the number of competitors expands, or the strength of peer-competitors grows, rebel groups should increasingly look for strategies that enhance their legitimacy vis-à-vis other rebel groups. Exclusive peace agreements can serve this objective by undermining the political authority of their competitors.[1] Multiparty conflicts also often produce jockeying among insurgent

[1]Bapat, "Insurgency and the Opening of Peace Processes".

groups for media attention. Again, an exclusive deal can enhance a group's importance by singling the group out for negotiations with the government.

Furthermore, rebel groups often depend heavily on civilian support, which supplies both resources and recruits. These benefits may dry up if strong alternatives exist. This is why rebel groups often engage in violent struggles with other rebel groups over territory and resources.[2] For example, in 1989, the more militarily capable Hezbollah nearly liquidated Amal, its competition to represent the Shi'ite population in Lebanon.[3]

Rebel groups may also fear competing rebel groups who may limit their ability to obtain territory and natural resources.[4] Groups may fight each out to eliminate competition to be the primary representative of a constituency.[5] Stronger rebel groups not only threaten the security of the regime. Stronger rebel groups also threaten the security of other insurgent forces.

For all these reasons, the more threatening other rebel groups are, the more pressure rebel groups should feel to distinguish themselves as the legitimate representative of a community. This dynamic paired with how threatening multiparty conflicts alter government's incentives, exclusive peace agreements should be more likely in difficult multiparty conflicts.

Combining the theoretical treatments of government and rebel incentives produces an additional anticipated result: a positive feedback cycle of trust. Because governments face significant threats, they will depend on military support from the signatory to the agreement. This should significantly reduce the possibility of the government pulling out of a deal and reopening settled war fronts. As the hazard other groups pose to governments increases, so does the cost of pulling out of an agreement and re-opening conflict with the signing groups. As a consequence, the larger the threat posed by other insurgent groups, the greater the governments' credibility in their promises to abide by the terms of accords and the greater potential for trust on the part of the included rebel force.

Given both governments' and rebel groups' incentives, I hypothesize that as other rebel groups become more threatening, the likelihood that a set of warring parties sign an exclusive agreement increases.

Hypothesis 1: As the threat posed by other rebel groups increases, so does the likelihood that a rebel group and the government sign an exclusive peace agreement.

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[2]Fjelde and Nilsson, "Rebels Against Rebels: Explaining Violence Between Rebel Groups".

[3]Hala Jaber. *Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance*. Columbia University Press, 1997; Augustus Richard Norton. "The Role of Hezbollah in Lebanese Domestic Politics". *The International Spectator* 42.4 (2007), pp. 475–491.

[4]Fjelde and Nilsson, "Rebels Against Rebels: Explaining Violence Between Rebel Groups".

[5]David E. Cunningham, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan. "It Takes Two: A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53.4 (2009), pp. 570–597.

3.2 Data

3.2.1 Universe of Cases

To test the hypothesis above, I rely on the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) Armed Conflict Dataset.[6] A civil conflict is an incompatibility over government and/or territory where the use of armed force results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year.[7]

Whether rebel groups are fighting over government or a specific territory differentiates one conflict from another. For example, two rebel groups that are both fighting to become a state's government are considered fighting in the same civil conflict, even if the groups advocate for radically different political or economic ideologies. For example, in the Cambodian civil war, the Communist Khmner Rouge, the monarchist National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC), and the democratic Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) all fought in the same conflict over what the shape of the Cambodian central government should be, albeit from very different political perspectives. Two rebel groups that are fighting over the status of the same territory are also considered fighting in the same conflict. Separate secessionist movements are considered separate conflicts. For example, India has fought civil wars over the status of Bodoland, Assam, Nagaland, and Tripura. These territorial conflicts are distinct from each other as well as distinct from the Communist insurgency that sought to change the central government of India.

The universe of cases is all multiparty civil conflicts from 1975-2013. A multiparty conflict is a civil conflict where two or more rebel groups are concurrently active.[8] Single-party conflicts are civil wars involving only one rebel group. It is impossible to sign an exclusive peace agreement in a single-party conflict. As a consequence, agreements signed in single-party conflicts are an inappropriate comparison for exclusive agreements in multiparty conflicts.[9] Where conflicts transition from single-party to multiparty states, only the multiparty periods are used.[10]

[6] Gleditsch et al., "Armed Conflict 1946-2001"; Pettersson and Eck, "Organized Violence, 1989–2017".

[7] Gleditsch et al., "Armed Conflict 1946-2001".

[8] Relying on the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset, a rebel group enters the dataset in the month that the first battle-related death is recorded in the conflict. Rebel groups remain in the dataset for two years following their exit from the conflict, to capture their latent threat, for example, while a peace agreement is being implemented.

[9] A third (51 of 154) of the conflicts from 1975 to 2013 in the UCDP Armed Conflict Dataset are multiparty conflicts.

[10] Appendix Table A2 shows results where the universe of cases is all multiparty conflicts, starting from the month they become multiparty, including intermittent periods where only a single rebel group was active. For example, from 1999-2003 the government of Algeria fought a multiparty conflict against al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the Armed Islamic Group of Algeria (GIA). War with GIA ceases to produce 25 battle deaths in 2004 and from 2006-2011 the conflict in Algeria was a single party conflict and AQIM posed the only insurgent threat to the government of Algeria. In 2012 the conflict again became a multiparty conflict when the group Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) joined

The unit of analysis is the government-rebel group-month. The sample includes 263 government-rebel group pairings in 59 conflicts across 45 countries. The sample includes more conflicts than countries because some countries concurrently fought more than one multiparty conflict. For example, in the late 1970s, Ethiopia fought a multiparty conflict against the Eritrean secessionist movement while also fighting the multiparty communist insurgency that eventually toppled the regime. Other countries have fought multiple, non-overlapping, multiparty conflicts.

3.2.2 Outcome Variable

The dependent variable *Exclusive Agreement* takes a value of one in the government-rebel group-month if an agreement is signed that does not include all active combatants and zero otherwise.[11] The sample includes 51 exclusive agreements.[12] The list of peace agreements included in the sample can be found in Appendix Table **??**. For the purpose of this analysis, inclusive peace agreements are coded as zeros.[13]

Peace agreements signed with inactive rebel groups, i.e. the rebel group-government pairing has not reached the 25 battle deaths threshold for more than two consecutive years, are not included in the sample. For example, in 2002 the government of Uganda signed a peace agreement with the Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF II). However, the violence between the government and UNRF II had not reached 25 battle deaths since 1997. These types of agreements are often political symbols rather than a compromise between warring parties and are not included in the sample.

The failure of an exclusive peace agreement does not preclude warring parties to once again attempt an exclusive peace agreement as a counterinsurgency strategy. As such, if violence continues after a peace agreement has been signed, the dyad remains in the sample and the value of *Exclusive Agreement* reverts to zero.

I've chosen to include peace agreements that fail to end violence between signatories for two reasons. First, to remove exclusive peace agreements that are signed, and then fail, would be conditioning the analysis on posttreatment variables. Doing so seriously biases results.[14]

AQIM. The results presented in Table 3.2 excludes 2004-2011. Appendix Table A2 includes these conflict years. The results are robust to both forms of structuring the data.

[11] Data from the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset. Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen, "Armed Conflict and Peace Agreements"; Stina Högbladh. "Peace Agreements 1975-2011-Updating the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset". *States in Armed Conflict 2011: Department of Peace and Conflict Research Report.* Ed. by Pettersson Therése and Lotta Themnér. Vol. 99. Uppsala University, 2012; Pettersson, Högbladh, and Öberg, "Organized Violence, 1989–2018 and Peace Agreements".

[12] The UCDP Peace Agreement dataset records each update in a peace process as a new agreement. Following Matanock (2018), peace processes that result in multiple agreements are consolidated.

[13] The time period covered includes 25 inclusive peace agreements signed in multiparty conflicts.

[14] Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. "Explaining Causal Findings without Bias: Detecting and Assessing Direct Effects". *American Political Science Review* 110.3 (2016), pp. 512–529.

Second, the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy states that warring parties will sign exclusive peace agreements in an attempt to simplify difficult multiparty conflicts. Strategies at times fail. Exclusive peace agreements may be *attempts* by governments to strengthen their counterinsurgency capabilities. How effective these strategies are is left for future research.

3.2.3 Key Independent Variables

The largest difficulty in linking my theory to data is measuring the threat that other rebel groups pose. I cannot directly measure the threat assessment of governments or rebel groups in a large cross-national dataset. I instead rely on several observable indicators that are suggestive of how threatened any government and rebel group feel by the other warring parties: the number of rebel groups in a conflict, the strength of the other rebel forces, and conflict fatalities associated with other rebel groups. Each of these measures captures a different aspect of how other rebel groups threaten governments and insurgent groups. A multifaceted approach measures the diverse set of ways that insurgencies can threaten a government and other rebel groups.

The greater the number of rebel groups in a conflict the harder it is for governments and rebel groups to secure a military victory.[15] Every additional rebel group that enters a conflict requires governments to dedicate military intelligence to the group's activities and to deploy soldiers to vulnerable areas. The number of rebel groups in a conflict captures the degree that governments will have to spread their military resources.[16] As the number of rebel groups grows and the field of viable opposition groups broadens, rebel groups are also incentivized to turn greater attention to strategies for defeating their peer competitors. To account for this, the variable *No. of Rebel Groups* is a count of all rebel groups that are active in a conflict.

One might be concerned that using government-rebel group-months as the unit of analysis gives undue weight to conflicts in the sample that involve a large number of rebel groups. While each new rebel group that enters the dataset is an additional potential group for a government to sign an exclusive peace agreement with because the unit of observation is the government-rebel group-month, every additional rebel group provides an additional observation that will take a value of zero for the variable *Exclusive Agreement* if an exclusive accord is not signed.

Table 3.1 shows descriptive statistics for *No. of Rebel Groups* and other variables from 1975-2013. Given that the universe of cases is all multiparty conflicts, the minimum number of rebel groups is two. Figure 3.1 is a histogram that shows the number of rebel groups active in each conflict-year. Most multiparty conflict-years include only two rebel groups, but a sizable number includes three or more insurgent forces.

[15] Cunningham, *Barriers to Peace in Civil War*.

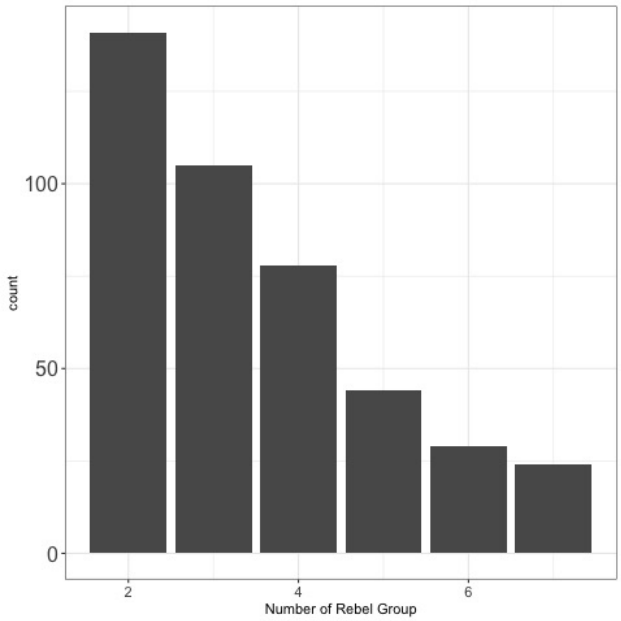
[16] In on-going research, I am investigating how the geographic spread of war fronts in multiparty conflicts influence a variety of conflict outcomes.

[17] For the variable *Battle Deaths*, the summary statistics only measure data from 1989-2013, as data prior to

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics, 1975-2013

Variable	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
No. of Groups	2	8	3.43	1.59
Strength	0	1	0.06	0.24
Battle Deaths[17]	0	3634	19.58	129.01
Secessionist	0	1	0.35	0.48
Log GDP pc	5.3	10.19	7.75	1.08
Post-Cold War	0	1	0.68	0.47
UN PKO	0	1	0.06	0.25
Duration	1	468	83.5	87.58

Figure 3.1: Histogram of No. of Groups



Additionally, governments and rebel groups should be especially inclined to sign an exclusive peace agreement when their competition is militarily strong. Groups are militarily strong when they are able to win battles in direct confrontation with government forces (rather than guerrilla warfare), when they have access to weapons, are able to mobilize civilians, and a clear central command exercises control over soldiers.[18] When governments are battling a large number of militarily weak rebel groups, governments may choose a minimal strategy designed to limit the growth of any insurgent organization. Alternatively,

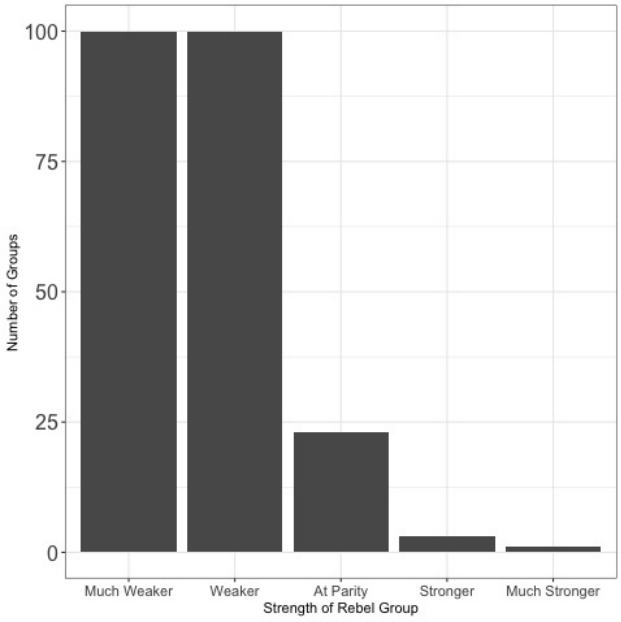
1989 is not available.

[18]Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan, "It Takes Two".

when a rebel group reaches the inflection point where it rivals the government's military capabilities, the armed forces *must* address the threat posed by the rebel group to maintain the security of the regime. When the military capabilities of another rebel group are at parity (or stronger) than the government's forces, governments need to bring their undivided army to the fight. Rebel groups should also seek to distinguish themselves from such strong competitors.

The variable *Strength* is a dummy variable that indicates whether any other group is 'much stronger,' 'stronger,' 'at parity' with government forces.[19] The variable takes a value of zero if all other rebel groups in the conflict are 'weaker' or 'much weaker' than the government. Figure 3.2, a histogram of the strength of the rebel groups in the sample, shows that most rebel groups are weaker or much weaker than the governments they are fighting.

Figure 3.2: Histogram of Strength of Rebel Groups



Finally, conflicts are also very costly when war-fighting results in significant destruction, most notably the loss of soldier and civilian life. Battles between government and rebel forces that result in a large number of government casualties indicate that rebel forces have the troops, weaponry, and strategic planning to pose a formidable threat to civilians and armed forces. For a regime, the deaths of civilians constitute both lost resources and legitimacy. Effective counterinsurgency is soldier intensive.[20] These conflicts decrease the number of

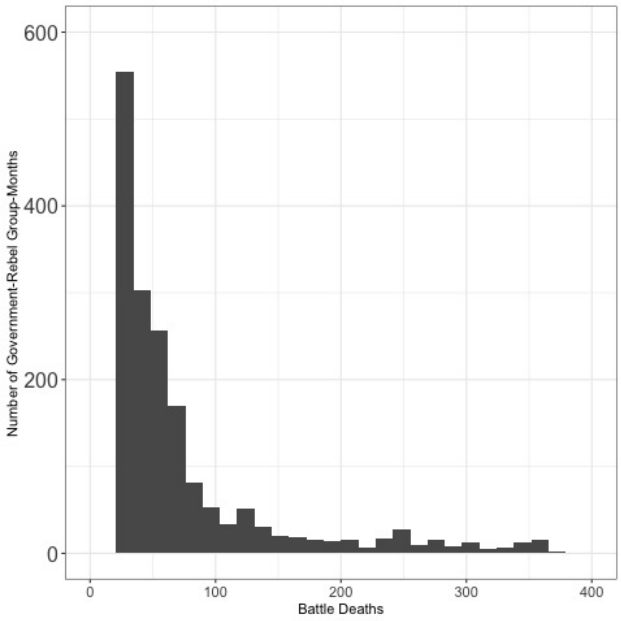
[19]Data from the Non-State Actor Dataset. The overall strength of each rebel group is assessed on a five-point scale from 'much weaker' to 'much stronger' than government forces. Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan, "It Takes Two".

[20]Lalwani, "Size Still Matters".

trained armed soldiers immediately available for counterinsurgency campaigns. The deaths of civilians and government soldiers can also create public pressure for the government to bring an end to the violence. Signing an exclusive peace agreement can appease public demands for action while simultaneously reducing the number of fronts governments must extend resources across.

Governments' and rebel groups' threat perceptions are informed by the conflict dynamics over time. As such, I take the rolling-average of the prior three months. The variable *Battle Deaths* is the log of the three-month rolling sum of civilian and government battle deaths associated with other rebel groups.[21] Figure 3.3 is a histogram of the battle deaths occurring in each government-rebel group-month observation.[22] The log is taken to account for the skewed distribution of battle deaths.

Figure 3.3: Histogram of Battle Deaths



3.2.4 Control Variables

Below I identify additional variables that affect both the independent and dependent variables and can thus introduce spuriousness. First, rebel groups' political objectives may influence the threat a rebel group poses as well as warring parties' willingness to sign a peace

[21] Data from the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset. Six battle death episodes are multi-month events. I divided the battle deaths from these events across the corresponding months. Ralph Sundberg and Erik Melander. "Introducing the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset". *Journal of Peace Research* 50.4 (2013), pp. 523–532.

[22] Histogram does not show outliers ranging from 400-1200 battle deaths.

accord. Rebel groups in secessionist conflicts are more likely to have a territorial base from which they can resist state repression, increasing the strength of insurgent forces involved in the conflict.[23] Governments are also less likely to sign peace settlements in conflicts over territory for fear that doing so risks emboldening future secessionist movements.[24] The stalemate often produced by a rebel group with a stable territorial base and a government unwilling to compromise diminishes the likelihood that any peace agreement is signed.[25] To account for this, the models include the variable *Secessionist*, which takes a value of one where rebels are fighting for secession or strengthened autonomy of a specified territory and zero otherwise.[26]

Second, a nation's GDP per capita directly influences the state's military sophistication.[27] Weak state capacity is one of the primary determinants of the onset of civil conflict.[28] As such, it is likely to strongly affect the threat a regime feels in a civil war. Additionally, low state capacity influences peace process dynamics. A poor economy decreases the size of the pie available to be split and thus decreases the likelihood that combatants can agree to a peace accord. To control for this, the models include *GDP pc*, the log of a country's real GDP per capita.[29] The variable is lagged one year out of concern for endogeneity.

Third, the end of the Cold War produced a seismic change in international politics, including a shift towards civil conflicts ending in negotiated settlements rather than military victories. During the Cold War, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union gave substantial weaponry and financial support to governments and rebel groups fighting for and against communist political agendas. The end of the Cold War suddenly terminated this aid, rapidly undermining the military capabilities of governments and rebel groups worldwide. Additionally, in the post-Cold War order, the U.S. adopted a position of moral authority in which the U.S. and its allies intervened in conflicts to secure negotiated settlements.[30] I anticipate that the end of the Cold War also corresponds with an increase in the share of peace accords that are inclusive, as the U.S. and other major powers intervened to craft negotiated settlements that met their criteria for a 'good' peace accord. Clapham writes that there is a "perception on the part of mediators that 'success' is to be equated with the achievement of an agreement that is at least formally accepted by all of the parties involved."[31] To account for this, the analysis below includes the dummy variable *Post-Cold War* that takes a value of zero for the years before 1989, and a value of one for 1989 and

[23] Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan, "It Takes Two", p. 584.
[24] Walter, *Reputation and Civil War*.
[25] Walter, "Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict".
[26] Data from the UCDP Armed Conflict dataset. Where the fight between a rebel group and government is over government and territory, the variable *Secessionist* is given a value of one.
[27] Cullen S. Hendrix. "Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and Empirical Implications for the Study of Civil Conflict". *Journal of Peace Research* 47.3 (2010), pp. 273–285.
[28] Fearon and Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War".
[29] Data from the Expanded Trade and GDP Dataset. Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Expanded Trade and GDP Data". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46.5 (2002), pp. 712–724.
[30] Toft, *Securing the Peace*.
[31] Clapham, "Rwanda", p. 205.

after.

Fourth, the involvement of international actors may influence both conflict dynamics and warring parties' willingness to sign an accord. U.N. peacekeeping operations are the strongest form of international involvement. The deployment of peacekeeping missions should deflate the number of battle deaths,[32] hurt rebel groups' chances of obtaining arms, and possibly deter additional rebel groups from forming. Furthermore, the deployment of a peacekeeping operation should increase the likelihood of a negotiated settlement. Strong third parties may pressure governments and rebel groups into signing peace accords they would not have concluded otherwise.[33] Peacekeeping may also resolve commitment problems or information asymmetries that deter warring parties from coming to an agreement.[34] The variable *UN PKO* takes a value of one when a peacekeeping operation is deployed to a conflict and zero otherwise.[35]

Finally, how long a rebel group has been active may have a direct effect on both the strength of the rebel group and the likelihood of warring parties successfully coming to a settlement. Rebel groups are especially vulnerable during their early stages of development.[36] As the duration of the conflict increases, governments are more likely to lower their anticipated likelihood of military victory and become increasingly willing to negotiate a settlement.[37] To account for this, the models include the variable *Duration*, which is a count of the number of months since the fight with a given rebel group first began.

3.3 Empirical Strategy

The appropriate method to determine the effects of the independent variables on the binary dependent variables is logistic regression. Given the temporal dependence between observations in the same conflict , a cubic polynomial approximation is included to model time dependence.[38] I anticipate that the error terms for observations *within a single conflict* are likely to be correlated, and as such, Huber-White robust standard errors are clustered at the

[32]Lisa Hultman, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. "United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War". *American Journal of Political Science* 57.4 (2013), pp. 875–891.

[33]Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen. "Making and Keeping Peace". *International Organization* 59.2 (2005), pp. 261–292.

[34]Walter, *Committing to Peace*; Mattes and Savun, "Information, Agreement Design, and the Durability of Civil War Settlements".

[35]Data from Havard Hegre, Lisa Hultman, and Havard Mokleiv Nygard. "Evaluating the Conflict-Reducing Effect of UN Peacekeeping Operations". *Journal of Politics* (2019). Expanded to include 2009-2013.

[36]Janet Lewis. "How Rebellion Begins: Insurgent Group Formation and Viability in Uganda". Harvard University, Sept. 2012; Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan, "It Takes Two".

[37]Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan, "It Takes Two".

[38]David B. Carter and Curtis S. Signorino. "Back to the Future: Modeling Time Dependence in Binary Data". *Political Analysis* 18.3 (2010), pp. 271–292.

conflict-level.[39]

3.4 Results

The results of the statistical analysis appear in Table 3.2. Due to the data limitations of the independent variables, the temporal domain varies from model to model. Model 1 includes the years 1975-2013, Model 2 includes the years 1975-2010, and Model 3 includes the years 1989-2013. Figure 3.4 is a coefficient plot that visualizes the results of the three models.

Model 1 looks at how well the number of rebel groups in a conflict predicts a government-rebel dyad signing an exclusive peace agreement. The coefficient for the number of rebel groups is a positive and significant predictor with a p-value of 0.0021. The average marginal effect for each additional rebel group that joins a conflict is 0.09%. The signing of any intrastate peace accord is an extremely rare event. Conflicts can go decades without witnessing any negotiated settlement. Exclusive peace agreements make up less than 1% of the 1975-2013 government-rebel group-month observations. As such, a small change in the probability of a peace agreement being signed may be a very substantively significant increase in the relative likelihood.

Model 2 looks at whether any of the other rebel groups in a conflict have military capabilities at parity or stronger than the government's armed forces. When other rebel groups are strong, governments and rebel groups are also more likely to sign an exclusive peace accord. The p-value on the coefficient for the variable *Strength* is .0117. The average marginal effect of the variable *Strength* is 0.3%. When governments and rebel groups are fighting in conflicts where other rebel groups are militarily capable, the net likelihood of an exclusive peace accord remains low, but the relative probability has increased significantly.

In Model 3, I test how the battle deaths of government soldiers and civilians influence the likelihood of a rebel group and government signing an exclusive peace agreement. Contrary to expectations, the number of battle deaths is negatively correlated with the likelihood of combatants signing an exclusive peace agreement. The results, however, are not statistically significant.

Why do the results for the variable *Battle Deaths* differ so significantly from the other independent variables? On the one hand, a higher fatality count is a direct measure of the government's inability to protect its citizens from violence. On the other hand, the casualties included in *Battle Deaths* include civilians who lost their lives as the result of government raids and sieges associated with fighting other rebel groups. If this is the case, high fatality counts may indicate a pro-active government that is confident in its counterinsurgency abilities and is thus engaging in a large number of offensives. A higher fatality count may also indicate other rebel groups are relying on terrorism in a civil war. Terrorism, as the weapon of the weak, is often adopted by organizations with limited military

[39]Results are robust to being clustered at the government-rebel group dyad level.

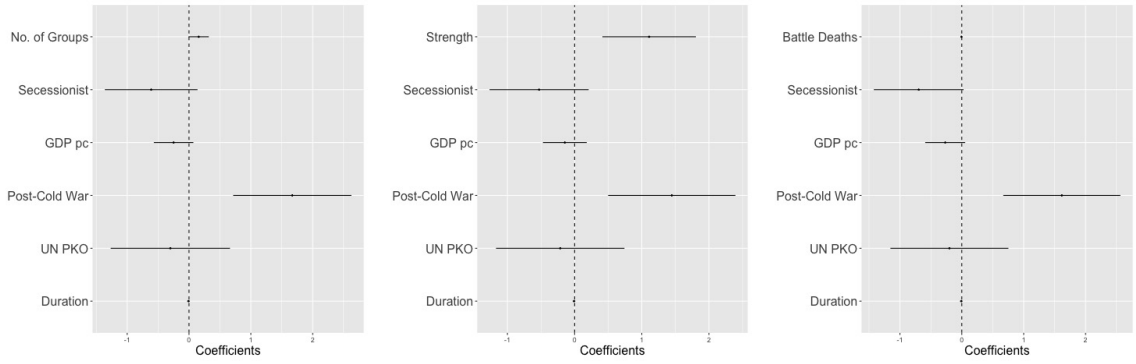
Table 3.2: Logit Analysis on Exclusive Peace Agreement

	Dependent variable:		
	Exclusive Peace Agreement		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of Groups	0.156***		
	(0.056)		
Strength		1.109**	
		(0.436)	
Battle Deaths			−0.006
			(0.005)
Secessionist	−0.612	−0.529	−0.696
	(0.483)	(0.486)	(0.485)
GDP pc	−0.249	−0.145	−0.269
	(0.197)	(0.228)	(0.227)
Post-Cold War	1.670***	1.446***	1.616***
	(0.505)	(0.468)	(0.509)
UN PKO	−0.302	−0.214	−0.201
	(0.562)	(0.592)	(0.601)
Duration	−0.009	−0.009	−0.009
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Observations	19,901	19,901	19,901
R^2	0.042	0.049	0.040
χ^2 (df = 8)	29.944***	35.036***	29.125***
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

capabilities.[40] Feeble organizations that rely on terror tactics may create large numbers of fatalities, but pose no threat to the regime or other rebel groups.

Furthermore, some conflicts have a low number of battle deaths, but this is indicative of rebel group strength, rather than weakness. Examples are the 'frozen' separatist conflicts of post-Soviet states, such as the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in Azerbaijan or the Transnistria conflict in Moldova, where violence has subsided into relative stability due to the strength, rather than weakness, of the separatist insurgencies.[41] Together, the high fatalities produced by some very weak organizations and the low battle deaths produced by some extremely strong rebel groups imply that across cases the threat posed by a rebel group may be negatively correlated with the number of battle deaths in a conflict. Paired with the positive and statistically significant coefficient for the variables *No. of Groups* and *Strength*, there are reasons to give less weight to the results of Model 3.

Figure 3.4: Coefficient Plots from Table 3.2



Taken together, the Model One and Model Two suggest that warring parties are most likely to sign exclusive peace agreements when civil conflicts include a large number of rebel groups or if one of the other rebel groups in a conflict has military capabilities that rival the government's armed forces. The total battle deaths the warfare with other groups is producing, however, does not predict whether warring parties sign exclusive peace agreements.

3.4.1 Peace Agreement Inclusivity

According to the theory, governments and rebel groups sign exclusive peace agreements to manage difficult multiparty conflicts. An alternative explanation is that difficult conflicts

[40] Martha Crenshaw. "The Causes of Terrorism". *Comparative Politics* 13.4 (1981), pp. 379–399, p. 387; Robert A. Pape. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism". *American Political Science Review* 97.3 (2003), pp. 343–361, p. 349.

[41] Charles King. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States". *World Politics* 53.4 (2001), pp. 524–552.

are more likely to produce peace accords of *any* type. If this were the case, the findings presented above would only be a subset of a broader pattern that negates the theory.

There is a reason to believe that difficult multiparty conflicts produce inclusive peace agreements and not just exclusive ones. Conflicts that include many rebel groups are deleterious for all involved. Given the inefficiencies of war, there are compromises for each government-rebel group pair that are preferable to continued fighting.[42] Conflicts involving strong rebel groups are extremely destructive and these heavy costs should open up a broader range of possible acceptable compromises.

It may be in the interest of governments and rebel groups to transform exclusive peace negotiations into inclusive ones. Rebel groups may believe they can extract larger concessions during negotiations for an inclusive agreement than they would be able to in separate negotiations. Nilsson describes a 'bandwagon' effect where excluded rebel groups join on-going peace processes because they fear being left with a smaller pie to bargain over once other rebel groups have concluded an agreement.[43] Excluded rebel groups also risk governments refocusing their undivided forces against the group.

If war of any kind is inefficient, warring parties should always prefer inclusive to exclusive agreements. Problems arise when the preferences of a rebel group are in contradiction with the preferences of another rebel group. Yet, side-payments can do much to resolve contrary political preferences. Divergent preferences make an inclusive peace agreement less likely, but not infeasible. For example, Cambodia's 1991 inclusive peace agreement brought together the radical communist Khmer Rouge, the royalist FUNCINPEC and the democratic KPNLF into a single accord. While the Khmer Rouge ultimately defected, money and political power were able to bring these radically different groups into a single accord.

To test this alternative explanation, I assess whether the threat posed by other rebel groups predicts the signing of an inclusive peace agreement. I re-run the analysis presented in Table 3.2, only changing the dependent variable. As before, I use a logit model.[44] The new dependent variable *Inclusive Agreement* takes a value of 1 if a peace agreement is signed that includes all warring parties in a conflict and zero otherwise. There are 25 inclusive peace agreements in the sample. Exclusive peace agreements are coded as zeros.

The results shown in Table 3.3 provide credible reasons to reject this alternative hypothesis. The number of active groups in a conflict is a negative and statistically significant predictor of an inclusive peace agreement being signed. These results are in line with Cunningham's findings that the greater the number of parties at the bargaining table, the less likely it is that warring parties come to an accord.[45] It is intuitive that as the number

[42] Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War".

[43] Nilsson, "Turning Weakness into Strength Military Capabilities, Multiple Rebel Groups and Negotiated Settlements".

[44] As a robustness check, I re-run the analysis as a multinomial logistic regression. In this robustness check, the dependent variable *Agreement* takes a value of zero when no peace agreement is signed, a value of one when warring parties sign an exclusive agreement, and a value of two when warring parties sign an inclusive peace agreement. The results are shown in Appendix Table A5.

[45] Cunningham, *Barriers to Peace in Civil War*.

of parties that must be satisfied with a peace agreement increases the likelihood that an inclusive accord is signed decreases. However, neither the strength of other rebel groups nor the battle deaths inflicted in the conflict are significantly correlated with the likelihood of an inclusive peace agreement being signed. It appears that the fundamentally different processes produce exclusive and inclusive peace agreements in multiparty conflicts.

Table 3.3: Logit Analysis on Inclusive Agreement

	Dependent variable:		
	Inclusive Agreement		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of Groups	-0.361^{***}		
	(0.068)		
Strength		0.144	
		(0.264)	
Battle Deaths			-0.005
			(0.004)
Secessionist	-1.208^{**}	-0.954^{*}	-1.030^{**}
	(0.508)	(0.497)	(0.501)
GDP pc	-0.732^{***}	-0.779^{***}	-0.821^{***}
	(0.238)	(0.242)	(0.243)
Post-Cold War	1.438^{***}	1.556^{***}	1.649^{***}
	(0.458)	(0.420)	(0.472)
UN PKO	0.681^{*}	0.595	0.552
	(0.389)	(0.386)	(0.399)
Duration	-0.054^{***}	-0.050^{***}	-0.052^{***}
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Observations	19,901	19,901	19,901
R^2	0.123	0.109	0.112
χ^2 (df = 8)	60.931^{***}	54.174^{***}	55.707^{***}
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

3.5 An Alternative Conceptualization of Exclusive Peace Agreements

According to the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy, as other insurgent groups become more threatening, governments and rebel groups should be increasingly willing to sign an exclusive accord. In the model above, 'other rebel groups' were conceptualized as all other rebel groups within a single conflict. However, governments are sometimes simultaneously fighting more than one onflict.

In this section, I analyze whether the theory's mechanisms operate across conflicts. Governments simultaneously fighting more than one conflict may sign a peace agreement in one civil war to redirect their full military attention towards another conflict. Rebel groups may be more willing to sign a peace accord if they believe governments will remain committed to battling the rebel groups in other conflicts.

However, not all of the mechanisms that make peace agreements effective counterinsurgency tools apply cross-conflict. As described by the theory, exclusive peace agreements can enhance state legitimacy by demonstrating that the state is amenable to the interests of the signing rebel group's constituency. In this way, exclusive peace accords may undermine popular support for the remaining insurgent groups. While this phenomenon is likely to occur within conflicts, it is unlikely to occur across conflicts. For example, the Kurdish separatists described above would be unlikely to change their perceptions of the Iraqi government's antagonism towards the Kurdish people if the government had signed an exclusive peace agreement with SCIRI. Below I test how conflict dynamics at the country-level predict the signing of exclusive peace agreements.

To test my theory at the country level, the universe of cases is extended to include any civil conflicts concurrently fought against the same government. The independent variables are modified to reflect all active rebel groups in a country. To demonstrate, in 1987 the government of Iraq fought in a multiparty conflict over its Kurdish territory. In any given month of 1987, the conflict involved two rebel groups, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). The previous analysis (Table 3.2) assessed how the threat posed by the KDP influenced the likelihood of the Iraqi government and PUK agreeing to an accord and vice versa. However, in 1987 the Iraqi government was also fighting the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (SCIRI) in a separate conflict over the government. The analysis above does not take into account the threat posed by SCIRI on the likelihood that the Iraqi government signs an accord with either the PUK or the KDP, as well as how the existence of Kurdish agents affected the likelihood of an accord with the SCIRI.

The analysis below tests how the threat posed by all other rebel groups in a country affects the likelihood of an exclusive peace agreement. To test this, modification to the data is required. The variable *No. of Groups* is transformed to count the number of rebel groups active across all conflicts in a country. I alter the variable *Strength* to identify whether any of the other rebel groups in the country are at parity with or stronger than

the government's armed forces. Similarly, the variable *Battle Deaths* records the number of civilian and government fatalities associated with all other rebel groups in a country.

Two control variables are similarly modified. The variable *Secessionist* is recoded to take a value of one if any of the rebel groups in a country are fighting for either secession or strengthened autonomy of a territory and a zero otherwise. Finally, the variable *UN PKO* indicates whether there is a peacekeeping mission deployed to any of the conflicts in a country. The sample only includes periods of civil war involving two or more rebel groups. All other control variables remain the same. The unit of analysis remains the government-rebel group-month.

It is also necessary to reinterpret what constitutes an exclusive peace agreement. For example, in 2002, the government of Angola signed a peace agreement with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). This conflict does not enter previously into the dataset, as UNITA was the only active rebel group in the conflict. Looking at the country-level, however, the government of Angola fought the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) in the Cabinda region while concluding the peace process with UNITA. From this vantage point, the 2002 peace agreement is exclusive, signed by only some of the country's active rebel groups, and for this analysis, it is recoded as such. By this interpretation there are 55 exclusive peace agreements in the sample.

For the government of Angola to craft a single settlement that addressed the grievances of both UNITA and FLEC would have been unlikely, bordering on impossible. But many of the mechanisms outlined by the theory, such as the redistributing of military resources to fight one rebel group after concluding an agreement with another, transcend individual civil conflicts. As such, it is appropriate to analyze how war dynamics in one conflict influence the likelihood of negotiated settlements in another.

I use a logit model to test whether the logic of the theory extends to the country level. I continue to model time dependence via cubic polynomial approximation.[46] Standard errors are clustered at the country-level. The results of the statistical analysis appear in Table 3.4.

The coefficient for the independent variable *No. of Rebel Groups* is negative but not statistically significant. Battle fatalities across a country are also not predictive of warring parties signing an exclusive accord. When looking across countries, however, the strength of other rebel groups continues to be a positive and statistically significant predictor of combatants signing an exclusive peace agreement. When all the other rebel groups, across all conflicts, that a government is fighting are weaker than the government's military, the likelihood that warring parties sign an exclusive peace agreement decreases by 0.31%.

Exclusive peace agreements appear to be tools governments use for managing difficult multiparty conflicts. When governments are facing conflicts that include more than one rebel group, they are more likely to sign an exclusive peace accord. When governments are fighting a particularly strong rebel group, they are more likely to sign peace agreements with *other* rebel groups. Looking across all conflicts a government is fighting, however, I only find support for a strong correlation between the strength of other rebel groups and

[46] Carter and Signorino, "Back to the Future".

the likelihood of an exclusive accord. It may be that the number of rebel groups in a single conflict is indicative of a difficult multiparty conflict, while a large number of rebel groups spread across a country poses a less serious threat to a regime. An alternative explanation is that some of the advantageous components of exclusive peace agreements, such as an accord's ability to change civilian hearts and minds, do not travel across conflict.

Table 3.4: Logit Analysis on Exclusive Peace Agreement, Country-Level

	Dependent variable:		
	Exclusive Peace Agreement		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
No. of Groups	−0.043		
	(0.100)		
Strength		1.270***	
		(0.492)	
Battle Deaths			−0.002
			(0.105)
Secessionist	−0.843*	−0.778*	−0.883**
	(0.460)	(0.436)	(0.450)
GDP pc	−0.390	−0.268	−0.381
	(0.257)	(0.271)	(0.263)
Post-Cold War	0.453	0.237	0.397
	(0.451)	(0.411)	(0.451)
UN PKO	−0.013	−0.012	−0.013
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Duration	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Observations	19,186	19,186	19,186
R^2	0.025	0.038	0.024
χ^2 (df = 7)	17.745**	27.370***	17.428**
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

3.6 When Do Warring Parties Sign Agreements that Include Military Integration?

Scholars argued that militaries adopt more reforms to incorporate groups previously excluded from the military when facing strong external threats.[47] I extend this logic to argue that similar processes are adopted when states face credible internal threats. The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy posits that an exclusive peace agreement can further enhance governments' counterinsurgency capabilities by including provisions for the integration of rebel soldiers into the national army. Governments are often reluctant to bring rebel soldiers into their armed forces. Few commanders relish the opportunity to pay the salaries of the forces they just fought in a violent conflict. However, military integration can send a message to local populations and offers governments soldiers with invaluable local knowledge. The benefits of integrating rebel soldiers might outweigh the cost when governments are fighting extremely difficult multiparty conflicts.

At first, it may be surprising that rebel soldiers are willing to join the very military force they were willing to die in battle against. Rebel soldiers were willing to risk their lives. Military integration would mean rebel soldiers would be fighting alongside the very people who killed their brethren. Especially when governments are fighting other rebel groups, military integration would put rebel soldiers in harm's way. However, military integration may offer social status, regular pay, and protection from violent competitors.[48] Rebels that will fight on the behalf of governments can have confidence in a peace accord. Governments should be especially unlikely to turn their backs on rebel groups that are fighting on their behalf. If military integration serves as a component of a government's counterinsurgency strategy, I hypothesize that provisions for the integration of rebel soldiers into the government's armed forces should be most likely to be found in agreements that exclude one or more warring parties.

Hypothesis 2: As the threat posed by other rebel groups increases, so does the likelihood that a rebel group and the government sign an exclusive peace agreement that includes a provision for military integration.

3.6.1 Data

To test this second hypothesis, the universe of cases is all multiparty civil conflicts from 1975-2013. The unit of analysis is the government-rebel group-month. A provision for military integration is defined as an accord that calls for the creation of a new national army or

[47] Ronald R. Krebs. "One Nation under Arms? Military Participation Policy and the Politics of Identity". *Security Studies* 14.3 (2005), pp. 529–564.

[48] Paul Staniland. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Insurgent Fratricide, Ethnic Defection, and the Rise of Pro-State Paramilitaries". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56.1 (2012), pp. 16–40.

the incorporation of rebels into the existing army. Relying on the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset, the dependent variable *Exclusive Military Integration Agreement* takes a value of one if an exclusive peace agreement includes a provision for military integration and takes a value of zero otherwise. Inclusive peace agreements that include military integration are given a value of zero. As shown in Table 3.5, the sample includes 22 exclusive peace agreements that include military integration.

Table 3.5: Peace Agreements in Multiparty Conflicts

	Military Integration	**No Military Integration**
Exclusive	22 (26%)	34 (41%)
Inclusive	17 (11%)	17 (22%)

Fisher's Exact = 0.383

I use the three measures of rebel group threat used in earlier analysis: the number of rebel groups in a conflict, whether any of the other rebel groups in a conflict are as strong as the government, and the casualties that result from battle with other rebel groups. I include five control variables that influence both agreement inclusivity and whether a peace agreement includes a provision for military integration. First, rebel groups with secessionist aims may be the least likely to be incorporated into the national army. While rebels in conflict over government fought for a specific conception of government, rebels in territorial conflict often refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the state and its institutions. Governments may be hesitant to bring potentially disloyal soldiers into the national armed forces. If a peace agreement is reached, it is unlikely that rebels fighting for a secessionist cause would be willing to join the national armed forces. Rebels are likely to believe that incorporating regional soldiers into the infrastructure of the national military would undermine the autonomy of the region.

Additionally, secessionist rebel groups also have a territorial advantage that is likely to increase how threatening these groups are to the state.[49] To account for this, the models include the variable *Secessionist*, which takes a value of one where rebels are fighting for secession or strengthened autonomy of a specified territory and zero otherwise.[50]

Second, integrating militaries can be a costly and technically demanding feat. Weak states may be both less willing and able to offer to integrate rebel soldiers into the armed forces.[51] Weak states are also most likely to be successfully defeated by insurgent forces. To

[49]Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan, "It Takes Two", p. 584.

[50]Data from the UCDP Armed Conflict dataset. Where the fight between a rebel group and government is over government and territory, the variable *Secessionist* is given a value of one.

[51]Hartzell, "Mixed Motives? Explaining the Decision to Integrate Militaries at Civil War's End", p. 19.

control for spuriousness, the variable *GDP pc*, the log of a country's real GDP per capita is included in the model.[52] The variable is lagged one year out of concern for endogeneity.

Third, with the end of the Cold War, not only did the percentage of conflicts that ended in negotiated settlements increase, but the proportion of peace agreements that included some form of power-sharing also increased substantially.[53] The end of the Cold War also marked a sizable change in the military support available to both governments and rebel groups from the USSR and the United States. Thus the end of the Cold War would coincide with both a sudden change in the military capabilities of warring parties and the likelihood of military power-sharing being included in the text of negotiated accord. To account for this, the analysis below includes the dummy variable *Post-Cold War* that takes a value of zero for the years before 1989, and a value of one for 1989 and after.

Fourth, I include *UN PKO*, a dummy variable that indicates whether a U.N. peacekeeping operation was deployed to the conflict when the peace agreement was signed.[54] Hartzell finds that the involvement of international actors strongly predicts whether a peace agreement include provisions for military power-sharing.[55] The variable *UN PKO* takes a value of one when a peacekeeping operation is deployed to a conflict and zero otherwise.[56]

Finally, the duration of violence may negatively affect the likelihood that warring parties are willing to serve within the same institution after a conflict has ended. Longer conflicts allow animosity between warring parties to become ingrained. Additionally, the organizational age of a rebel group should be positively correlated with the organization's ability to develop stronger military capabilities. To account for this, the models include the variable *Duration*, which measures how many months since the fight with a given rebel group began.

3.6.2 Empirical Strategy

Given the cross-sectional data with a binary dependent variable, I use a logit model to test Hypothesis 2. Given the temporal dependence between observations, I continue to use a cubic polynomial approximation to model time dependence.[57] Standard errors are clustered at the conflict-level. I report clustered standard errors at the conflict level because within-conflict observations are likely to be correlated.

[52] Gleditsch, "Expanded Trade and GDP Data".
[53] Hartzell and Hoddie, *Crafting Peace*.
[54] Hegre, Hultman, and Nygard, "Evaluating the Conflict-Reducing Effect of UN Peacekeeping Operations".
[55] Hartzell, "Mixed Motives? Explaining the Decision to Integrate Militaries at Civil War's End", pp. 16–7.
[56] Data from Hegre, Hultman, and Nygard, "Evaluating the Conflict-Reducing Effect of UN Peacekeeping Operations". Expanded to include 2009-2013.
[57] Carter and Signorino, "Back to the Future".

3.6.3 Results

The results of the statistical analysis appear in Table 3.6.[58] Figure 3.5 is a coefficient plot that visualizes the results of the three models. Model 1 shows that, consistent with the theory, the number of other rebel groups in a conflict is a statistically significant predictor of warring parties agreeing to an accord that includes military integration. The p-value of the coefficient is 0.00003. The average marginal effect for the addition of each rebel group in a conflict is 0.06%. As the number of rebel groups in a conflict increases, it appears that the use for rebel soldiers with local knowledge increases substantially.

Model 2 analyzes how the strength of the rebel groups in a conflict influences the likelihood that warring parties agree to merge their militaries. Contrary to the theory's expectations, the presence of militarily capable rebel groups is not strongly correlated with the decision to sign a peace agreement that includes military integration.[59] Similarly, in Model 3, a conflict's civilian and government battle deaths are not a statistically significant predictor of a peace agreement including integration.

How should it be interpreted that the number of rebel groups in a conflict predicts the signing of an exclusive peace agreement with provisions for military integration, but the strength of the other rebel groups does not? When exclusive peace agreements reduce the number of theaters a government is fighting on, governments consolidate a military advantage. This military advantage enhances a government's counterinsurgency capabilities against the excluded rebel groups regardless of the geography, ethnic identity, or political ideology of the excluded rebel groups.

However, the primary advantages that rebel soldiers can provide national armies - local knowledge - do not provide a strategic advantage against all rebel groups in a conflict. Governments only gain local knowledge relevant to fighting a rebel group with military capabilities equaling or surpassing the military strength of the government when that rebel group operates in the same area as the signing rebel group or shares a constituency. In these cases, military integration provides additional troops and weapons. However, agreeing to military power-sharing would not provide local information useful in the campaign against this formidable enemy. Nor under such circumstances would military integration of rebel soldiers undermine civilian support for the strong rebel group. As such, the geographic, ethnic, religious, and political constellation of rebel groups in a conflict may in part dictate whether military integration serves as a useful counterinsurgency tool.

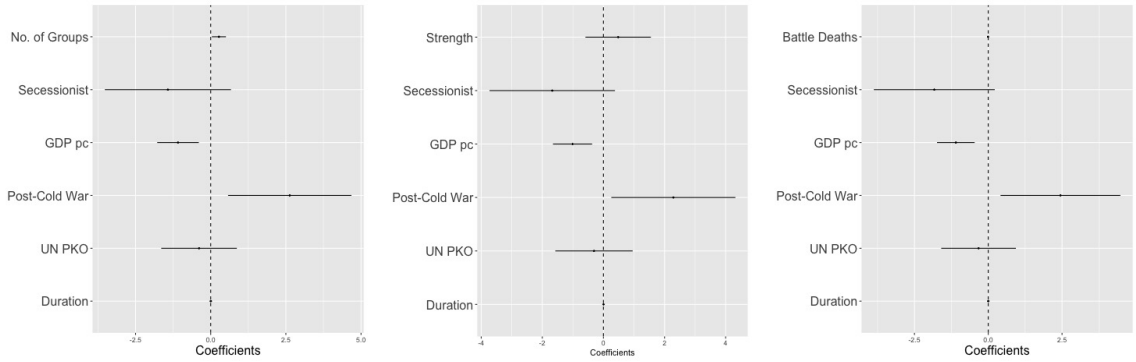
[58] Appendix Table A6 shows that the results hold when testing whether battle conditions influence the likelihood of an exclusive peace agreement or any peace agreement that includes military integration.

[59] The variable *Strength* is significant at the p ¡ .10 level when *Strength* takes a value of zero for very weak groups and takes a value of one for groups coded as weak, at parity, or stronger than government forces.

Table 3.6: Logit Analysis on Exclusive Military Integration Agreement

	Dependent variable:		
	Exclusive Military Integration Agreement		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of Groups	0.272***		
	(0.099)		
Strength		0.482	
		(0.467)	
Battle Deaths			−0.008
			(0.006)
Secessionist	−1.425	−1.675	−1.828
	(1.219)	(1.208)	(1.200)
GDP pc	−1.089***	−1.011***	−1.098***
	(0.319)	(0.296)	(0.328)
Post-Cold War	2.628**	2.290**	2.446**
	(1.068)	(1.129)	(1.125)
UN PKO	−0.388	−0.308	−0.328
	(0.837)	(0.900)	(0.908)
Duration	0.002	0.004	0.001
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Observations	19,901	19,901	19,901
R^2	0.129	0.117	0.120
χ^2 (df = 8)	42.345***	38.319***	39.320***
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Figure 3.5: Coefficient Plots from Table 3.6



3.7 Conclusions

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy posits that conflict dynamics with one rebel group affect the costs and benefits of a negotiated settlement between the government and another rebel group. Relying on a diverse set of measures of threat, in this chapter I find tentative support for the idea that the number and military capabilities of other rebel groups are correlated with warring parties' willingness to sign an exclusive accord.

The analysis of exclusive peace agreements reveals two important findings. First, when one of the rebel groups in a multiparty conflict is militarily strong, governments are very likely to sign an exclusive peace agreement with another rebel group. Furthermore, as the military capabilities of other groups increases, rebel groups' search for legitimacy from sources other than military strength may guide them towards an exclusive peace agreement. When a conflict includes one or more militarily capable rebel groups, exclusive peace agreements also allow the governments to focus their military attention on the insurgents that pose the greatest threat to the security of the regime. Whether governments are evaluating the distribution of rebel strength within a conflict or across all the rebel groups they are fighting, an exclusive peace agreement is likely to be signed when governments are fighting a rebel group with military capabilities that rival the governments' armed forces.

Second, governments and rebel groups are more likely to sign an exclusive peace agreement when conflicts involve a large number of rebel groups. I argue this is because governments fighting several distinct rebel groups are most likely to need to consolidate their military resources. Additionally, in signing an exclusive peace accord, where an excluded and included rebel group share a constituency, governments can undercut popular support for the remaining insurgency. The number of rebel groups within a conflict is strongly correlated with the likelihood that a government and rebel group sign an exclusive peace agreement.

However, while the number of rebel groups within a conflict predicts an exclusive peace agreement, the number of rebel groups active across a country does not. This second piece of analysis incorporates a specific kind of cases excluded from the first piece of analysis: single-

party conflicts fought concurrently with other civil conflicts. When these cases are included within the sample, the variable *No. of Groups* loses its significance. Rebel groups facing a large number of competitors should adopt tactics that distinguish their organization from others. When rebel groups are fighting in separate conflicts, they are not peer competitors. They are not fighting over the same territory nor the same base of potential supporters. Governments that sign a peace agreement in one conflict are unlikely to win over civilians in another conflict. These results provide tentative support that the ability for exclusive peace agreements to sway popular support is an important component of how peace agreements function as counterinsurgency strategies.

While the number and strength of rebel groups is correlated with the likelihood of warring parties signing an exclusive peace accord, battle fatalities are not a significant predictor in any of the models. Future research should detangle whether this negative correlation results from governments adopting pro-active offensive campaigns, weak insurgent forces using terrorism, strong rebel groups that have reached a relatively peaceful stalemate with the regime, or any combination of these possible explanations.

The results presented in this chapter also show that governments are most likely to agree to include provisions for military integration in an exclusive peace agreement when they are fighting a large number of rebel groups. The integration of rebel soldiers into the governments' armed forces not only provide the government with additional troops and firepower. The most valuable contribution military integration brings is local knowledge. Similar to the relationship between exclusive peace agreements and popular support, rebel groups are only able to contribute local knowledge when they share a geographic or social base with an excluded rebel group. Conflicts with many rebel groups are likely to include two or more groups who share a constituency. As such, the complex dynamics of a multiparty conflict predict not only the likelihood of a peace accord, but also the content of the settlement.

The statistical analysis presented in this chapter provides support for this argument but does not establish a causal relationship. To do so, in Chapter 5 I use qualitative analysis to identify the mechanisms that explain the correlation between conflict dynamics and combatants' decisions to sign exclusive peace agreements.

Chapter 4

Peace Agreements in the Southern Philippines

> *Every administration oscillates between war and appeasement in a bid to corrupt, divide and break the Moro rebellion.*
>
> — Randy David, *Mapping Mindanao*

Chapter 3 examined when exclusive peace agreements are signed across a wide range of civil wars. The empirical patterns support the theory that peace agreements are a counterinsurgency strategy against excluded groups. Research relying on observational data, however, cannot test the mechanisms described by the theory. In this chapter, I use a case study of civil war in the Philippines to examine the mechanisms driving these findings.

The Southern Philippines provides a rich vein for study, with over four decades of internal conflict—a period that has been punctuated by a variety of peace agreements. Some of these peace agreements called for the integration of rebels into the national military. Others have not. This chapter compares the peace process with the government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the mid-1990s with the peace process with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) that spanned the 2000s.

I focus on civil conflict in the Philippines as a hard test of the theory. When designing counterinsurgency strategies, governments choose from a diverse set of options. Exclusive peace agreements are only one of many possible strategies and one would not anticipate governments to use them in a secessionist conflict. Governments rarely sign peace accords in conflicts over territory for fear of inspiring future secessionist claims against the state's territorial integrity.[1] Rebel groups are also less likely to compromise in conflicts where an ethnic minority demands sovereignty over territory.[2] The case of the Southern Philippines, a secessionist conflict driven by ethnic minority demands, therefore, is an unlikely environment for a strategy that relies on peace agreements to be exercised. Evidence from a conflict where we would least expect this strategy to be used provides strong support for the theory.

I've chosen to analyze the 1996 peace accord between the government and the MNLF and the 2012 peace agreement between the government and the MILF as part of a 'most similar'

[1] Walter, "Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict".
[2] Toft, *The Geography of Ethnic Violence*.

design. Two prior peace agreements with the MNLF were considered: the Tripoli Agreement and the follow-up Jeddah Accord. Neither agreement provides a strong comparison case for the later pair of settlements. The Tripoli Agreement was signed with the MNLF in 1976. At the time, the MNLF was the only active insurgent group in the conflict. Signing an exclusive peace agreement was not a strategy available to the government during this period of the conflict. When the government and the MNLF signed the Jeddah Accord in 1987, the MILF existed as a separate organization. The MILF, however, had not yet seriously engaged the AFP.[3] The MILF became an active participant in the civil war in Mindanao after the government and MNLF had signed the Jeddah Accord.[4] Both the Tripoli Agreement and the Jeddah Accord also differ from the later peace agreements in other significant aspects. Important, both agreements were signed during the Cold War, a period when widespread self-determination movements across the globe were experiencing success.

The purpose of this case study is two-fold. The first objective is to process-trace in both cases how warring parties came to sign an exclusive peace agreement. I try to identify warring parties' intentions in coming to an exclusive accord. The second objective is to identify whether exclusive peace agreements strengthen the government's counterinsurgency capabilities. The 1996 and 2012 peace agreements differed significantly in the content of the accord. While both accords were exclusive, the 1996 accord called for the incorporation of thousands of MNLF soldiers into the national military. The 2012 peace agreement, and the follow-up 2014 accord, do not include any provisions for military power-sharing.

The 1996 and 2012 peace agreements, however, are extremely similar across several important variables. Both agreements were exclusive settlements signed during a post-Cold War order where major powers emphasized respect for sovereignty and the territorial integrity of states. While international actors in the form of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) were heavily involved in the peace processes of the 1970s and 1980s, the organization played little to no role in later peace process.[5] Comparing these two agreements allows for process-tracing of how warring parties came to agree to these peace agreements while keeping other variables—such as insurgents' political grievances, ethnic identities, the end of the Cold War, and geography—constant across comparison. In both cases I find evidence that warring parties understood that the consequences of a peace agreement included a shift in the balance of power within the conflict. The cases also demonstrate that peace agreements function as a mechanism for incorporating rebel soldiers into counterinsurgency operations

[3]The MILF would not cross the 25-battle deaths threshold used by many to help define an active rebel group until 1990.Gleditsch et al., "Armed Conflict 1946-2001"; Pettersson and Eck, "Organized Violence, 1989–2017"

[4]Soliman M. Santos Jr. "Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Its Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 344–363, p. 345.

[5]Soliman M. Santos Jr. "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 58–87, p. 73.

against excluded groups. I find that peace agreement provisions for military integration are sufficient, but not necessary, for governments to enlist signatory rebel groups in their fights against other insurgent groups.

This chapter is divided into several sections. The first section introduces the historical context of the Moro insurgency in the Philippines and the origins of the MNLF and MILF. Section two tests whether the threat posed by other rebel groups motivated the government and MNLF to sign an exclusive peace accord. The third section tests whether the government was able to redistribute military resources following the accord, as well as whether the reputations of the signing parties benefited from the peace process. The fourth section examines why the government and MNLF were willing to include military integration within the text of the accord. This section also tests an alternative explanation for the inclusion of military power-sharing in peace agreements. The fifth section documents the failure of the peace agreement with the MNLF as well as two cases of military cooperation as a precursor to a signed peace agreement. The sixth section examines the causes and consequences of the 2012 peace agreement with the MILF. The seventh section discusses why the MNLF's peace agreement with the government unraveled while, thus far, the government has not reneged on its peace deal with the MILF.

4.1 Historical Context

4.1.1 A History of Marginalization

The MNLF's and the MILF's grievances have deep historical roots. The origins of the modern Moro identity lie with the ethnolinguistic tribes of the Southern Philippines that adopted Islam at the end of the 13th century.[6] Based on this foundation, the Moro identity is both ethnic and religious.[7] The Sultanates of Sulu and Maguindanao ruled a large portion of Mindanao from the 14th century until the modern era.

Spanish colonialism of the Philippines began in the 1500s, but the sultanates maintained their independence and largely repelled Spanish incursion on their sovereignty during the 300 years of Spanish rule that followed.[8] In general, Spanish colonizers successfully converted the indigenous population under their control to Catholicism. Therefore, Muslim minorities tend to exist in those territories where the Spanish failed to fully exercise sovereignty, which run up against zones filled with Christian majorities who lived under full Spanish dominion.[9]

[6]The term Moro originates from the term the Spanish used for the Muslim inhabitants of the islands, after their historical adversary the Moors. Bangsamoro, the combination of Moro with Banga, the Malay word for nation, refers to the Moro nation.

[7]Wan Kadir bin Che Man. *Muslim Separatism: The Moros in Southern Philippines and the Malays in Southern Thailand*. Oxford University Press, 1987.

[8]Syed Serajul Islam. "The Islamic Independence Movements in Patani of Thailand and Mindanao of the Philippines". *Asian Survey* 38.5 (1998), pp. 441–456.

[9]Mark Turner. "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization: The Case of the Abu Sayyaf". *Public Organization Review* 3.4 (2003), pp. 387–401.

In 1898, the end of the Spanish-American war brought the Philippines under U.S. governance. Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the U.S. purchased the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico from the Spanish for USD 20 million. U.S. rule marked the ended of Moro independence.[10] The U.S. sought to resettle the Mindanao region based on a belief that the Muslim inhabitants were a backward people whose advancement required incorporation into a Christian civilization.[11] While the sultanates had withstood Spanish assaults, they were unable to repel U.S. military offensives. The U.S. military's campaign against the Moro people began in 1903 and succeeded in forcefully incorporating the Mindanao region under a single national government in 1913.[12]

While the U.S. did not enforce religious conversion in the Philippines, it did privilege the rights of Christians to settle traditionally Muslim lands. Ignoring traditional communal land rights, any land unregistered with the central government was made available for purchase by Christian settlers as well as private agricultural companies.[13] In this way, Moro land, as well as the land belonging to indigenous groups (known as Lumad), was dispersed to Christian Filipinos.[14] These decisions set the stage for the modern terms of conflict: political in nature, but framed by religious identity.

The loss of land and in-migration continued after the Philippines gained independence in 1946. The government of the Philippines extended the colonial policies that encouraged Christian migration to Mindanao. The central government passed laws to legalize the confiscation of traditionally Muslim lands for Christian migrants and plantation agriculture.[15] In 1903, Muslims were estimated to make up 76% of Mindanao's population. In the 2000

[10] Astrid S. Tuminez. "This Land Is Our Land: Moro Ancestral Domain and Its Implications for Peace and Development in the Southern Philippines". *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 27.2 (2007), pp. 77–91; Miriam Coronel Ferrer. *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace: Collected Articles on the Peace Processes in the Philippines, 1990-2007*. University of the Philippines Press, 2013, pp. 45–46.

[11] Najeeb Mitry Saleeby. *The Moro Problem; an Academic Discussion of the History and Solution of the Problem of the Government of the Maros of the Philippine Islands*. Manila: Press of E.C. McCullough & Co., 1913; Thomas M. McKenna. *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines*. Vol. 26. University of California Press, 1998, p. 89.

[12] Islam, "The Islamic Independence Movements in Patani of Thailand and Mindanao of the Philippines"; Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*, p. 4.

[13] Tuminez, "This Land Is Our Land".

[14] Ibid.

[15] The confiscation of land in this case also foreshadows how compromises made to resolve one conflict can affect the dynamics of another. One significant contributor to the Mindanao land grab was a peace agreement to end the Hukbalahap rebellion. Hukbalahap refers to Philippine soldiers that fought against Japanese occupation during World War II. After the Japanese were repelled, the soldiers waged a successful insurgent campaign against the Philippine central government. The group fought for the redistribution of resources and agrarian reform in Luzon, in Northern Philippines. As part of the agreement to end the war, the government gave titles to Moro land in Mindanao to the peasant rebels. Macapado Abaton Muslim and Rufa Cagoco-Guiam. "Mindanao: Land of Promise". *Compromising on Autonomy: Mindanao in Transition*. Ed. by Mara Stankovitch. Vol. 6. 1999, pp. 13–16; Myrthena L. Fianza. "Contesting Land and Identity In The Periphery: The Moro Indigenous People of Southern Philippines". Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property. Oaxaca, Mexico, Aug. 9–13, 2004

census, Muslims constituted only 20% of Mindanao's population.[16] This in-migration forever changed the demographics of the region, cultivating a sense in many Moro people that their homeland had been lost or stolen.[17]

In the face of political and cultural loss, the Moro people have articulated a wide range of grievances. These do not always match up, or even agree, and there is no singular 'Moro position' on which issues are the driving factors of Moro marginalization.[18] However, two central grievances do appear to be broadly shared and therefore constitute the heart of the complaints: lost autonomy and relative deprivation.

The demand for autonomy is in part driven by a belief in the injustice of the country's Christian majority ruling over the Moro people. The forceful incorporation of Mindanao into the Philippines displaced traditional Islamic political institutions, and many Moros saw the immigration of Christian settlers as a threat to their communities' Islamic way of life.[19] In response, the Moro people sought to preserve a separate Muslim identity through engagements with international Islamic institutions, including educational exchanges with Arab governments.[20] Driven by this desire to maintain distinct social and economic codes, many regard autonomy as the only way for the Moro people to maintain cultural independence.[21] Their demand for autonomy is, therefore, a demand that Muslims will not be ruled by an inherently Christian central government.[22]

The fight for autonomy is also rooted in the belief that the central government is accountable for the region's lack of development.[23] On the subject of economic deprivation, the statistics are stark. Mindanao is one of the most impoverished locales in the region. The 2017 GDP per capita of Mindanao is less than one-fifth of the Philippine's national GDP per capita.[24] The people of Mindanao are in desperate need of programs to promote health, infrastructure, educational opportunities, and viable employment.[25] But rather than regard the state as an agent to secure some of these opportunities, many Moro citizens see the laws

[16]Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*, p. 47.

[17]Hajji Nur Misuari. *The Manifesto of the Moro National Liberation Front: Establishment of the Bangsa Moro Republik*. Apr. 28, 1974; Tuminez, "This Land Is Our Land".

[18]For research that emphasizes the grievance of a lost land, see Fianza, "Contesting Land and Identity In The Periphery: The Moro Indigenous People of Southern Philippines"; Tuminez, "This Land Is Our Land". Research focused on the role of Islam in the conflict includes Ronald J. May. "The Religious Factor in Three Minority Movements: The Moro of the Philippines, the Malays of Thailand, and Indonesia's West Papuans". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (1992), pp. 396–414. Alternatively, Ferrer, chief negotiator for the government in the peace process with the MILF, emphasizes the economic roots of the conflict. Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*.

[19]Islam, "The Islamic Independence Movements in Patani of Thailand and Mindanao of the Philippines".

[20]Moshe Yegar. *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma/Myanmar*. Lexington Books, 2002.

[21]McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*, pp. 4–6.

[24]CEIC Data. *Philippines — GDP per Capita: ARMM — Economic Indicators*. 2017. URL: https://www.ceicdata.com/en/philippines/gross-domestic-product-per-capita-by-region-sna-2008-current-price/gdp-per-capita-armm.

[25]Ben Kerkvliet. *Philippine Human Development Report 2005: Peace, Human Security and Human*

and policies of the central government as responsible for the deprivation.[26] For many, the central government is at fault for holding the land rights to valuable natural resources that rightfully belong to the Moro people.[27] The limited ability of the regional government to collect taxes is also seen as a hurdle to economic prosperity.[28] Moro activists argue that the national government is a racist colonial state that intentionally keeps the Moro people in poverty.[29] These arguments fall on ready ears, making the Mindanao region a fertile ground for rebel recruitment.

4.1.2 The Beginnings of a Moro Insurgency

These grievances provided the foundation for the Moro insurgency. In 1968, the Muslim Independence Movement (MIM) formed as a political organization in response to the alleged murder of Moro military recruits by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), known as the Jabidah Massacre.[30] The MIM advocated for an independent state in Mindanao and sought to use radical means to achieve that end.

Members of the MIM's youth movement were sent to Malaysia for guerrilla training.[31] The soldiers came to realize that the politicians who had arranged for their guerrilla training were more interested in raising private armies to serve their interests rather than the cause of Moro independence. In response, the soldiers decided to leave the MIM and found their own group.[32] In the early 1970s, theses soldiers established the MNLF.[33]

The MNLF drew inspiration from the national liberation movements of the 1960s, including the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam.[34] Nur Misuari, the first elected chairman, had participated in a Communist Youth movement and drew inspiration from Leninist and Maoist radicalism.[35] These influences are seen in the group's political

Development in the Philippines. Asian-Pacific Economic Literature, Oct. 9, 2006.

[26]Turner, "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization", p. 392.

[27]Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*, pp. 61–62.

[28]Eric Gutierrez. "The Politics of Transition". *Compromising on Autonomy: Mindanao in Transition*. Ed. by Mara Stankovitch. Vol. 6. 1999, pp. 66–75; Senen Bacani and Miriam Coronel Ferrer. "Development Challenges in Achieving Fiscal Autonomy in the Bangsamoro". *Development* 57.1 (2014), pp. 96–103.

[29]McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*; Islam, "The Islamic Independence Movements in Patani of Thailand and Mindanao of the Philippines".

[30]Soliman M. Santos Jr. and Diana Rodriguez. "Introduction". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 1–11, p. 4.

[31]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*.

[32]Soliman M. Santos Jr. and Paz Verdades M. Santos. "Moro National Liberation Front and Its Bangsamoro Armed Forces (MNLF-BAF)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 327–343, p. 238.

[33]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*.

[34]Santos Jr. and Santos, "Moro National Liberation Front and Its Bangsamoro Armed Forces (MNLF-BAF)", p. 238.

[35]Ibid., p. 238.

ideology. While the group did not adopt a Communist political agenda, the ideology of the MNLF is secular rather than Islamist, championing a Moro nationalism as an alternative to Filipino nationalism.[36] In the group's manifesto Misuari describes the MNLF as working to free Mindanao "from the terror, oppression and tyranny of Filipino colonialism" and "to secure a free and independent state for the Bangsa Moro people."[37]

The insurgency in Mindanao initially involved low-level communal conflict between Muslims and Christians. Violence escalated into civil war after President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in 1972.[38] Between 1973 and 1975, the MNLF waged a violent campaign against the government with significant casualties.[39] Although the AFP was able to inflict defeats in conventional battles, the MNLF increasingly adopted guerrilla tactics to maintain pressure on the armed forces.[40] During the height of the conflict in the 1970s, the AFP was reportedly spending one million Philippine pesos a day in the fight against the MNLF.[41] An estimated 50,000 people were estimated to have been killed.[42]

4.1.3 The Tripoli Agreement

In 1976, the Marcos dictatorship and the MNLF were both under strong pressure from the OIC to come to a negotiated settlement. The OIC had recognized the MNLF as the 'sole and legitimate representative of the Bangsamoro people' and granted the group observer status at summits and conferences.[43] The OIC had threatened to impose oil sanctions on the Philippines if the Marcos regime failed to agree to an accord with the MNLF.[44] The OIC, especially Libya, also exerted strong pressure on the MNLF to agree to an accord. Libya was the MNLF's primary source of financial support, making their pressure extremely effective.[45]

[36] Lela Garner Noble. "The Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines". *Pacific Affairs* 49.3 (1976), pp. 405–424; Julkipli Wadi. "Islamic Nationalism and Philippine Politics". *Philippine Politics and Governance: Challenges to Democratization and Development*. Ed. by Teresa S. Encarnacion Tadem and Noel M Morada. OCLC: 162502072. Diliman, Quezon City: Dept. of Political Science, University of the Philippines in collaboration with the Philippine Commission on Higher Education, 2006.

[37] Misuari, *The Manifesto of the Moro National Liberation Front: Establishment of the Bangsa Moro Republik*, found in Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso. *State and Society in the Philippines*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2017, pp. 218–219.

[38] International Crisis Group. *Southern Philippines Backgrounder: Terrorism and the Peace Process*. 2004, p. 4.

[39] Jacques Bertrand. "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines: Why the 1996 Peace Agreement Is Fragile". *Pacific Affairs* (2000), pp. 37–54, p. 38.

[40] Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", p. 72.

[41] Carmen A. Abubakar. "Review of the Mindanao Peace Processes". *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5.3 (2004), pp. 450–464, p. 451.

[42] *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 6. Sept. 1990, p. 27.

[43] Soliman M. Santos Jr. "Islamic Diplomacy: Consultation and Consensus". *Accord. Conciliation Resources, London, United Kingdom* (1999), pp. 20–22.

[44] Lela G. Noble. "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate". *Asian Survey* 21.11 (1981), pp. 1097–1114, pp. 1098–1099.

[45] Ibid., pp. 1098–1099.

On December 23, 1976, the Marcos government and the MNLF signed the Tripoli Agreement under the mediation of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.[46] The agreement included a ceasefire as well as a proposal for greater autonomy for thirteen provinces in Mindanao.[47] Within this region the Moro people would be able to create their own schools, administrative regimes, courts, as well as financial systems.[48] According to the agreement the region would be allowed to set up its own Special Regional Security Force. Foreign policy and national defense would remain in the purview of the national government.[49]

The text of the accord, however, left ample space for disagreement over the implementation of the accord.[50] The agreement grants autonomy to the region but provided few details about what autonomy for Mindanao would look like.[51] During negotiations the government had insisted on including in the Tripoli Agreement that the government would take "all necessary constitutional processes for the implementation of the entire Agreement."[52] After the agreement was signed, the Marcos administration argued that constitutional processes required the government to hold a referendum that would give the proposed localities a say in whether they would be included in the new autonomous administrative unit.[53]

The MNLF disagreed with the government's interpretation of the agreement text. The MNLF anticipated that few Christian-majority provinces would vote to join such an entity and boycotted the referendum.[54] The MNLF's fears proved to be well-founded, an overwhelming majority of those voting rejected merging the thirteen provinces into a single region.[55] Misuari dismissed the entire process as a violation of the Tripoli Agreement and the MNLF returned to violence.[56]

The breakdown of the Tripoli Agreement fragmented the MNLF. The leadership was divided over how to best respond. While Chairman Misuari advocated renewed armed struggle, his Vice Chairman Salamat Hashim wished to pursue further peace talks.[57] The

[46] *Tripoli Agreement*. Dec. 23, 1976.

[47] The agreement calls for the following thirteen provinces to be granted autonomy: Basilan, Sultan Kudarat, Sulu, Lanao del Norte, Tawi-Tawi, Lanao del Sur, Zamboanga del Sur, Davao del Sur, Zamboanga del Norte, South Cotabato, North Cotabato, Palawan, and Maguindanao.

[48] *Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front with the Participation of the Quadripartite Ministerial Commission Members of the Islamic Conference and the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islam*. Dec. 23, 1976.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", pp. 66–67.

[51] For example, the agreement text reads, "The Muslims shall have their own administrative system in compliance with the objectives of the autonomy and its institutions. The relationship between this administrative system and the Central administrative system to be discussed later." *Tripoli Agreement*

[52] Noble, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981", p. 1100.

[53] Ibid., p. 1100.

[54] Imma Concepcion F. Galeriana and Primitivo Ragandang III. "Philippines: In Search for Self-Determination. The Political History and Armed Struggle of the Moro National Liberation Front in Mindanao." *Conflict Studies Quarterly* 24 (2018).

[55] Noble, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981", p. 1102.

[56] Kadir bin Che Man, *Muslim Separatism*, pp. 80–81.

[57] Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three

following year Hashim broke with the MNLF to form a new group called the New MNLF Leadership. In 1984 the group renamed itself the MILF.[58]

The MILF emphasizes its Islamist ideology as a juxtaposition against the secular nationalist MNLF.[59] The MILF's political objective was the establishment of an independent Islamic state in Mindanao. While Hashim initially argued for a resumption of the Tripoli peace process, by the 1980s the organization was disillusioned with the prospects for peace and began to prepare for war against the AFP.[60]

In addition to ideology, the two groups also differ in their core ethnic and geographic supporters. The MNLF is largely supported by the Tausug ethnic group. MILF supporters are more likely to be from the Maguindanao and Maranao tribes.[61] These ethnic differences are reflected in the geographies that each group draws support from. The MNLF's base of support is located in Tawi-Tawi, Basilan, and parts of the Zamboanga peninsula. The MILF's strongest support is in Maguindanao, North and South Cotabato, Lanao del Sur, and Lanao del Norte. [62] The location of these provinces are shown in Figure **??**.

4.1.4 A Democratic Revolution and the Jeddah Accord

The armed conflict in Mindanao continued through the early 1980s. In 1985, mass public protest brought an end to the Marcos dictatorship. The "People Power" revolution restored democracy to the Philippines.[63] Campaigning for the presidency of this re-established democracy, candidate Corazon Aquino promised that she would give Mindanao greater autonomy if elected.[64] After winning the presidency, the Aquino regime made clear they were open to renewing peace talks with the MNLF.[65] Meeting on the island of Jolo in September

Tracks (Overview)", p. 63.

[58]Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", p. 63.

[59]This is not to say that the MNLF is devoid of any Islamic identity. In the MNLF manifesto, Misuari states that Filipino colonialism has threatened "Islam through wholesale destruction and desecration of its places of worship and its Holy Book." Misuari, *The Manifesto of the Moro National Liberation Front: Establishment of the Bangsa Moro Republik*.

[60]Santos Jr., "Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Its Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces", p. 345.

[61]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 41; Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*, p. 43; Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)".

[62]While the MILF and MNLF draw strength from different ethnic tribes, both champion an overarching Moro identity. Furthermore, the division between the two is not set in stone - members of each tribe can be found in each group.Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 41; Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*, p. 43; Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)"

[63]Also referred to as the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) Revolution after the central location of the protests in Manila. Mark Richard Thompson. *The Anti-Marcos Struggle: Personalistic Rule and Democratic Transition in the Philippines*. Yale University Press, 1995.

[64]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 331.

[65]Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", pp. 66–67.

of 1986, President Aquino and Misuari agreed to a ceasefire and to conduct further peace negotiations.[66]

Negotiations progressed and led to the government and the MNLF signing the Jeddah Accord on January 3rd, 1987 in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.[67] While the MILF had quietly built up its organizational and military capabilities, the group had not participated in significant confrontations with the government and the group was not invited to join in the peace accord.[68] MILF Chairman Hashim made clear that the MILF would not respect any agreement signed between the MNLF and the government.[69] In protest of the accord, the MILF launched the 'Five-Day War' against the AFP from January 13th-17th, 1987.[70] These attacks are some of the first in the MILF's organizational history. According to a MILF spokesperson at the time, the attacks were in part to demonstrate that the MIFL was not a "push over organization."[71] Clashes between MNLF and MILF units also occurred after this historic meeting between Aquino and Misuari in Jolo.[72]

The Jeddah Accord called for the establishment of a new political entity in Mindanao. The agreement did not, however, specify which provinces or cities would be governed by the new administrative unit.[73] The agreement called for the establishment of a joint commission that would outline the details of a future proposal to grant greater autonomy to Mindanao, "subject to democratic processes."[74] Shortly after signing the accord, the MNLF and Aquino regime entered into strong disagreement over the meaning of the agreement, including which areas would be included in the autonomous area. As before, the two sides did not see eye to eye on whether Christian-majority localities would be given a say in whether they would be ruled by a Moro political institution.[75]

The MNLF argued that the thirteen provinces listed in the Tripoli agreement should be included in the autonomous area and that ten additional provinces should be given a choice to join the autonomous area via referendum.[76] The government believed that only ten of the thirteen provinces enumerated in the Tripoli agreement should automatically be included in the new administrative area. The other three provinces would be allowed to join via referendum. It was the government's position that none of the provinces outside the thirteen enumerated in the Tripoli Accord would be considered for incorporation.[77] The two

[66]Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", p. 73.
[67]*Jeddah Accord*. Jan. 3–4, 1987.
[68]Santos Jr., "Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Its Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces", p. 345.
[69]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 332.
[70]Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", p. 73.
[71]Salah Jubair. *Bangsamoro, a Nation under Endless Tyranny*. Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Research Academy, 1984.
[72]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, pp. 332–333.
[73]*Jeddah Accord*.
[74]Ibid.
[75]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*.
[76]Abubakar, "Review of the Mindanao Peace Processes", pp. 453–454.
[77]Ibid., pp. 453–454.

sides were unable to come to a compromise on this issue and talks subsequently collapsed in May of 1987.[78]

Peace negotiations between the government and the MNLF occurred concurrently with the establishment of a new democratic regime in the Philippines. The Philippines ratified a new constitution in February of 1987. The constitution called for the creation of an autonomous region in Muslim Mindanao within the framework of "national sovereignty as well as territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines."[79] The MNLF rejected this characterization of regional autonomy embedded within the larger structure of a sovereign Philippines. The MNLF saw the autonomous region outlined in the constitution as too far from the group's objective of creating an independent Moro state.[80]

However, in fulfillment of the constitutional mandate to create an autonomous region in Mindanao, the government organized a referendum in the thirteen provinces that had been cited in the Tripoli agreement. When the referendum was held in 1989, only four provinces, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi, voted to join the newly created Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).[81] The ARMM was given executive and legislative branches to manage the governance of these four provinces.[82] The ARMM provides greater autonomy than previous arrangements but fell far short of both the MNLF's and MILF's vision for an independent Mindanao.[83]

4.2 Conflict in the Philippines in the 1990s

Chapter 3 demonstrated that there is a strong positive correlation between the threat posed by other rebel groups and warring parties' willingness to sign an exclusive peace agreement. Observational data, however, cannot elucidate actors' intentions. For example, the literature on peace process spoilers states that negotiations for peace may lead excluded groups to commit violence with the hopes of ending negotiations. The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy posits that the violence and threatening postures of excluded groups can *facilitate* a peace process. A positive correlation between violence and a peace process supports both of these rival claims. I analyze the case of the Southern Philippines to uncover the mechanisms that link violence and peace processes. I do find evidence that excluded rebel groups escalated their attacks in response to the MNLF's on-going peace negotiations with the government. However, I also find evidence that the threat posed by the excluded insurgent groups motivated both the MNLF and the Philippine government to agree to an accord.

[78] Abubakar, "Review of the Mindanao Peace Processes", pp. 453–454.
[79] *Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines*. Feb. 2, 1987.
[80] Abubakar, "Review of the Mindanao Peace Processes", pp. 453–454; Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", p. 67.
[81] Federico V. Magdalena. "The Peace Process in Mindanao: Problems and Prospects". *Southeast Asian Affairs* 24 (1997), p. 245.
[82] Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 40.
[83] Ibid., p. 40.

Fighting between the government and the MNLF was entering its third decade when the election of General Fidel Ramos in 1992 opened the possibility for a renewed peace process with the MNLF.[84] The Ramos government held its first set of exploratory talks in Tripoli in 1992.[85] The second round of talks was held in Jakarta in 1993.[86] I find strong pieces of evidence in support of the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy.

The history of the Mindanao conflict is canvassed with on-again-off-again talks between the government and rebel groups. The talks that began in Jakarta in 1992 continued with little progress for years. What changed that allowed the MNLF and the Marcos administration to overcome the hurdles that had stalled prior attempts? Three important events preceded the 1996 Final Peace Agreement: the massacre at Ipil, the MILF campaign targeting infrastructure in the region, and an increase in the military capabilities of the country's communist insurgency. These events demonstrate that both the Philippine government and the MNLF were facing increasingly destructive competitors. Both sides became willing to make compromises that they had previously rejected when faced with the changing dynamics of the conflict.

4.2.1 The Abu Sayyaf Group and the Massacre at Ipil

The civil war in Mindanao continued through the 1990s. As the conflict raged, other insurgent and terrorist organizations joined the fray. One such group is the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG).[87] Like the MILF, the ASG's founding members were disillusioned MNLF soldiers. Founded in 1991, the ASG seeks to establish a separate Salafi state in Mindanao. The ASG is difficult to define - the group at times has functioned as a rebel group, a terrorist group, and a criminal gang.[88]

Poverty and the belief that Islam in Mindanao is under attack breeds support for terrorist groups, including the ASG.[89] The group possibly had ties to Al Qaeda during its earliest years of operation.[90] While the ASG has substantially fewer adherents than the MNLF or the MILF, by using guerrilla and terrorist tactics the organization still poses a significant threat to the security of civilians.[91]

[84] Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)".

[85] Merliza M. Makinano and Alfredo Lubang. *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: The Mindanao Experience*. International Security Research and Outreach Programme, Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Feb. 2001.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Also know as Al-Harakatul Islamiyya.

[88] "A Carnival of Crime: The Enigma of the Abu Sayyaf". *Conflict, Community, and Criminality in Southeast Asia and Australia: Assessments from the Field: A Report of the CSIS Transnational Threats Project*. Ed. by Arnaud De Borchgrave et al. CSIS, 2009.

[89] Turner, "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization".

[90] Zachary Abuza. "Tentacles of Terror: Al Qaeda's Southeast Asian Network." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs* 24.3 (2002).

[91] Soliman M. Santos Jr. and Octavio Dinampo. "Abu Sayyaf Reloaded: Rebels, Agents, Bandits, Terrorists

While the ASG had previously committed small-scale attacks in Mindanao, in 1993 the group significantly stepped up the number of attacks the group committed.[92] In response, in June of 1994, the AFP began a series of operations against the ASG on the island of Sulu, an ASG stronghold. The ASG retaliated with significant attacks on both military and civilian targets.[93] After the violence had subsided, the AFP publicly announced that the ASG had been "completely annihilated."[94] Yet in April of 1995, the ASG launched its first large-scale offensive.

Approximately 200 ASG militants attacked the predominately Catholic town of Ipil, on the Zamboanga peninsula.[95] The militants indiscriminately killed civilians and burned the town to the ground. A contemporary account records,

> "In early 1995, the Abu Sayaff appeared to be in retreat. They had suffered military setbacks and surrenders. The AFP had pursued them relentlessly from Basilan to Sulu, unlike previously when military assaults had been terminated after early gains. The MNLF had given tacit support to AFP military action against the Abu Sayaff by even refusing the Abu Sayaff entry to MNLF-controlled areas. The private armies of politicians on Sulu had done likewise. However, the Abu Sayaff has demonstrated a capacity to regroup and strike again in spectacular style, by inflicting appalling violence on civilian victims in Ipil in April 1995."[96]

Previously, cooperation between the ASG and the MNLF gave the ASG access to territory controlled by the MNLF. However, as peace talks between the MNLF and the government progressed, the MNLF cut off the ASG's access to these sanctuaries.[97] In doing so, the MNLF gave the government a clear view of what it would look like to pursue the ASG if the conflict with the MNLF were resolved.

The massacre at Ipil was the highest fatality terrorist attack in the country's history. The attack killed 114 people and was twice as deadly as the previous record-setting attack from

(Case Study)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 115–138.

[92]Kumar Ramakrishna and See Seng Tan. *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia*. World Scientific, 2003, p. 108.

[93]Lieutenant Colonel Nasser Lidasan. "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao: Beyond Economic Deprivation, Discrimination, and Inequality". Ph.D. Dissertation. Old Dominion University, 2013, pp. 153–154, 168.

[94]Ramakrishna and Tan, *After Bali*, p. 108.

[95]The Associated Press. "Filipino Troops Corner Rebels After Attack". *The New York Times* (Apr. 7, 1995); Robert East. *Terror Truncated: The Decline of the Abu Sayyaf Group from the Crucial Year 2002*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

[96]Mark Turner. "Terrorism and Secession in the Southern Philippines: The Rise of the Abu Sayaff". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 17.1 (1995), pp. 1–19, p. 17.

[97]Ibid., p. 17.

a decade earlier.[98] After the massacre, the AFP was unable to defeat the insurgents over the course of four separate battles.[99] Despite their numerical superiority, the government failed to capture the retreating insurgents.[100] Fear ran high among the public. Informants disclosed that the Ipil attack was intended to be a 'launching pad' for a high-profile worldwide terrorist campaign of bombings and assassinations.[101] Politicians and citizens decried the incompetence of the AFP.[102]

Some predicted that in the wake of the violence, the peace process would break down.[103] However, AFP deputy chief of staff publicly announced that despite the massacre at Ipil, peace talks with the MNLF must continue.[104] Army leadership was explicit that they believed the peace deal was important as a tool that would marginalize the ASG.[105]

4.2.2 The MILF Escalates Violence

The escalation in violence committed by the ASG corresponded with a more aggressive posture from the MILF in the mid-1990s. In the year before the MNLF and the Ramos regime signed the Final Peace Agreement, the MILF intensified its campaigns against government forces, especially in Central Mindanao.[106] The MILF targeted power plants, irrigation infrastructure, and Christian communities.[107] The ASG and MILF's campaign of violence were intended to voice their opposition to the peace process.[108]

4.2.3 A Resurgence of the Communist Insurgency

While the government fought a separatist conflict in Mindanao it also had to contend with a communist insurgency in other regions of the country. The origins of the communist insurgency in the Philippines lies in the mass student activism and Marxist political upheaval

[98] The previous record-holder was an attack on a military target in Lianga that killed 58 people in November of 1984. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). *Global Terrorism Database*. 2020.

[99] Rigoberto Tiglao. "Hit and Run Rebel Raid Belies Manila's Claim of Security". *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Apr. 20, 1995).

[100] Ramakrishna and Tan, *After Bali*, p. 108.

[101] Keith B. Richburg. "Spoilers of the Peace; Militant Young Muslim Force Emerges in Philippines as Older Rebels Negotiate". *The Washington Post. A33* (May 25, 1995).

[102] "Nikki: What Intelligence?" *Manila Standard* (Apr. 7, 1995), p. 8; "A Demand for Arms". *Manila Standard. Editorial* (Apr. 9, 1995), p. 8.

[103] "Islamic Raid Puts Talks in Doubt". *The Independent* (Apr. 29, 1995), p. 11.

[104] Fel V. Maragay. "MNLF Ceasefire Review Eyed". *Manila Standard* (Apr. 13, 1995), p. 2.

[105] "Army Defends Moslem Peace Deal, Says It Will Sideline Extremists". *Agence France Presse. International News* (July 23, 1996).

[106] Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 343.

[107] UPI. "Battle Kills 11 in Southern Philippines" (Apr. 8, 1996); Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 343.

[108] Lidasan, "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao", p. 170.

across the globe in the 1960s and 1970s.[109] The Communist Party of the Philippines was formed in 1968.[110] The following year, the Communist Party's armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA), initiated its war against the government of the Philippines.[111] The NPA's political objectives are the equitable redistribution of land and the establishment of a 'national democracy.'[112]

The number of NPA recruits and civilian supporters peaked in the mid-1980s, with their numbers steadily declining over the next decade. That trend reversed in 1995.[113] In the early 1990s, the government had shifted its strategy from the pursuit of military victory over the NPA to offering economic development to win away the insurgents' civilian supporters. The AFP observed the increase in capabilities of the NPA and attributed the rise in the number of NPA recruits to the change in tactics.[114] In the mid-1990s, the NPA also escalated its conflict with the AFP to voice its opposition to the peace process with the MNLF.[115]

4.2.4 Analysis of Events

As described in Chapter 3, when a rebel group enters into peace negotiations with a government, other groups may use violence in an attempt to spoil the peace process.[116] In this way, the possibility for a peace accord may drive violence committed by other rebel groups, rather than the other way around. In two of the three events that precede the 1996 accord, we see evidence of this phenomena: the MILF's and NPA's campaigns were designed to register their disapproval of peace talks with the MNLF.

The Ipil attacks, however, demonstrate that while spoiler violence was a consequence of the peace process, it was also a motivating factor in concluding an accord. From the vantage point of literature on spoilers, the violence executed by other groups can only pose a threat to a peace process. By contrast, the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy offers an alternative interpretation. Warring parties can become *more* willing to sign an exclusive peace agreement as other groups pose a more serious threat to security.

[109]Paz Verdades M. Santos and Soliman M. Santos Jr. "Communist Party of the Philippines and Its New People's Army (CPP-NPA)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 17–35.

[110]Ibid.

[111]Ibid.

[112]Communist Party of the Philippines. *Program for a People's Democratic Revolution*. Dec. 26, 1968.

[113]Paz Verdades M. Santos. "The Communist Front: Protracted People's War and Counter-Insurgency in the Philippines (Overview)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 17–35, p. 203.

[114]Ibid., p. 203.

[115]Lidasan, "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao", p. 170.

[116]Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes"; Kydd and Walter, "Sabotaging the Peace"; Pearlman, "Spoiling inside and Out".

Analyses of the conflict in the Southern Philippines have also emphasized the threat excluded rebel groups pose to an on-going peace process. For example, Yegar (2002) writes about the 1996 peace negotiations with the MNLF,

> "Despite these developments, and despite his determination to go on with his antiterror campaign against Abu-Sayyaf and the MILF, President Ramos was committed to negotiations with the MNLF. He was optimistic about the chances for the peace process and was not ready to allow the raid on Ipil or other terror attacks to diminish the prospects for peace."[117]

In razing the town of Ipil, the ASG demonstrated the sizable threat the group posed. Subsequently, the public put significant pressure on the government to take measures to resolve the security crisis in Mindanao.[118] Fears circulated that the attack on Ipil demonstrated that the ASG had expanded from its stronghold on Basilan island to the Zamboanga mainland.[119] Both Philippine intelligence officials and Moro leaders believed that the ASG was well-funded by the wealthy Middle Eastern backers of global terrorist organizations.[120] The attack at Ipil undermined Ramos's claim that the security situation was under control, immediately before elections.[121]

Additionally, the massacre at Ipil showcased the incompetence of the AFP. The attack demonstrated the AFP's comparative lack of knowledge in the area. While AFP soldiers were caught completely unaware by the attack, the rebels knew the precise location of AFP soldiers.[122] The AFP's inability to defeat the group after four battles, paired with the AFP's prior claim that the ASG had been "completely annihilated," painted a picture of a national armed force inept at providing security in Mindanao.[123] If the AFP were to eliminate the ASG, they would require local knowledge.

The government was not the only actor threatened by the ASG. The appearance of ASG as a radical force challenged the legitimacy of the MNLF. A MNLF leader described how the emergence of the ASG affected popular support for the MNLF,

> "These young people, most of them were my audience in the mosque, and at the lectures I gave... They think I disregarded the struggle... They think the [MNLF] is a secular movement... What [ASG leader] Janjalani wants is to fight

[117] Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 351.

[118] Rita Raagas. "Manila's Military under Scrutiny". *UPI* (Apr. 7, 1995).

[119] Tiglao, "Hit and Run Rebel Raid Belies Manila's Claim of Security".

[120] Richburg, "Spoilers of the Peace; Militant Young Muslim Force Emerges in Philippines as Older Rebels Negotiate".

[121] Ramakrishna and Tan, *After Bali*, p. 108.

[122] Tiglao, "Hit and Run Rebel Raid Belies Manila's Claim of Security".

[123] Tiglao, "Hit and Run Rebel Raid Belies Manila's Claim of Security"; Ramakrishna and Tan, *After Bali*, p. 108. The ASG entered a period of low activity shortly after the Ipil massacre. In 1996, however, the government would not have known this and both the government and the public would have only seen a pressing threat that needed to be dealt with. Zachary Abuza. *Balik-Terrorism: The Return of the Abu Sayyaf*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2005.

> – violently... I can no longer attract these people because of the Arab extremists who finance them."[124]

Misuari condemned the attacks at Ipil, stressing that the MNLF agreed with neither the goals nor tactics of the ASG.[125] A month after the battle at Ipil, the government announced that it had come to an agreement with the MNLF to battle the ASG and search for the rebels who had attacked Ipil.[126]

According to Stankovitch and Carl, the Ramos government chose to sign an exclusive agreement to undermine the public support for the remaining Moro insurgent groups,

> "The Final Peace Agreement could not be expected to end all violence in Mindanao. The MNLF was only one of several groups that had taken up arms against the Philippine government. The others included the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the much smaller Abu Sayyaf and Islamic Command Council, as well as the left-wing New People's Army and Revolutionary People's Army. In these circumstances, an accord between the government and any single rebel group – however significant – was exclusive by definition and was always vulnerable to falling short of meeting the disparate aspirations not just of the other armed Moro groups but also of those of the unrepresented civil society organisations.
>
> The Ramo administration deliberately chose to negotiate with the Moro armed organisations separately and to start with what many had seen as militarily the weaker group. The MNLF was also the government's choice of negotiating partner thanks to its status at home and abroad as an organisation which embodied Moro aspirations. It had blazed the trail by uniting various Muslim ethnic groups into an armed movement with clearly defined goals. The OIC formally recognized it as representing the Muslims of the Philippines. By aiming for a settlement with the MNLF, the administration hoped to demonstrate to the Moro public and the OIC that their demands were being addressed."[127]

It is interesting that the government saw the MILF as its primary threat, but chose to sign an agreement with the MNLF. It is highly unlikely that the government thought the conflict with the MILF would fizzle out on its own. But rather, by first signing an agreement with the MNLF, the administration hoped to address social grievances and undermine public support for the MILF's insurgency.

[124] Richburg, "Spoilers of the Peace; Militant Young Muslim Force Emerges in Philippines as Older Rebels Negotiate".

[125] "MNLF Link to Ipil Massacre Eyed". *Manila Standard* (Apr. 10, 1995), p. 3; Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, pp. 349–350.

[126] "Philippines Secures Help From Mainstream Guerrillas". *Seattle Times. Around The World* (May 3, 1995).

[127] Stankovitch and Carl, "Compromising on Autonomy", p. 6.

The ASG threat also pressured MNLF Chairman Misuari to accelerate peace negotiations.[128] Misuari needed to sign an agreement so that as he could offer state offices and other material benefits to MNLF soldiers that would otherwise leave the MNLF to join the more radical ASG. A contemporary source reflects that:

> "The ideological gauntlet thrown down by the Abu Sayyaf would create a policy conflict within the MNLF. This would weaken the organization and give its leader, Nur Misuari, a strong imperative to forge a peace in which he could secure state offices and other benefits for himself and his followers."[129]

The agreement was, in large part, the result of Misuari's willingness to compromise due to the increasingly stiff competition from Islamist organizations such as the MILF.[130]

The Ramos government and the MNLF signed the Final Peace Agreement at a time when both the MILF and the NPA were gaining strength. During peace negotiations, the MILF was growing in numbers and increasing the frequency of its military encounters with the AFP.[131] Compounding the government's sense of threat, the NPA reversed its decade-long decline in members and saw an uptick in its military capabilities.[132]

Evidence linking the MNLF's motives to sign an accord with the threat posed by other groups supports a theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy. In line with my theory's expectations, I find evidence that the Ramos government sought an exclusive peace agreement to undermine the civilian support for the insurgent groups excluded from the peace agreement. It is important to note, however, that I do not find evidence that the government envisioned the Final Peace Agreement as a means for shifting war-resources from one front to another. This may in part be due to the fact that the ASG and MNLF generally operated in similar locales during this period.

4.3 The 1996 Final Peace Agreement and Its Consequences

The Ramos administration and the MNLF signed the Final Peace Agreement on September 2, 1996, in Manila.[133] The peace agreement did not include the MILF or any other insurgent group. As with prior peace processes, it was non-negotiable for the government that Christian-majority localities in Mindanao be given a say in whether their city or province

[128]Santos Jr. and Dinampo, "Abu Sayyaf Reloaded: Rebels, Agents, Bandits, Terrorists (Case Study)", p. 122.
[129]Turner, "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization", p. 394.
[130]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", pp. 40–41.
[131]Turner, "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization", p. 389.
[132]Santos, "The Communist Front: Protracted People's War and Counter-Insurgency in the Philippines (Overview)", p. 203.
[133]Also referred to as the Jakarta Accord.

joined the ARMM.[134] The MNLF, however, was fearful of a binding popular vote. The MNLF believed they would lose all but a small number of provinces in a referendum, as had occurred in 1989.[135]

The warring parties agreed to a compromise. A referendum on joining the ARMM would be held in the thirteen provinces enumerated in the Tripoli agreement, as well as the newly created province of Zamboanga Sibugay and thirteen cities.[136]The settlement gave the MNLF time and resources to run the ARMM for three years before any referendum. The MNLF hoped to demonstrate to skeptical citizens (both Christian and Muslim) its capacity for good governance. The MNLF planned to win any future referendum by demonstrating to localities that an MNLF-run ARMM was viable, prosperous, and to their benefit to join.[137]

The peace agreement created the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), an administrative body that would supervise the implementation of the accord.[138] The SPCPD would also implement development projects throughout the region.[139] Misuari was made the chairman of the SPCPD and the Ramos government supported his candidacy as governor of the ARMM, which he won the week after the peace accord was signed.[140]

My analysis of the 1996 Final Peace Agreement thus far has focused on the motivations and events that encouraged the government and MNLF to sign an exclusive accord. The theory outlines the material and reputation-related consequences of signing an exclusive peace agreement. Both governments and rebel groups that sign an exclusive peace accord should benefit in the eyes of international and domestic actors. Additionally, governments that sign exclusive peace agreements should be able to redistribute previously encumbered military resources against rebel groups excluded from the peace process.

4.3.1 Redistributing Resources: the Battle of Camp Abu Bakar

After the agreement with the MNLF was signed, the AFP proceeded to concentrate its forces in attacks on MILF camps.[141] By one scholarly account, "For the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), [the 1996 agreement] re-defined the military possibilities. Soon after September 1996, the AFP did indeed appear to concentrate its forces to attack MILF camps."[142] In June of 1997, the AFP launched two additional campaigns against the MILF, capturing Camp Rajamuda, the second-largest MILF camp.[143] In Basilan, MNLF soldiers

[134]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 337.
[135]Ibid., p. 337.
[136]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 41.
[137]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 337.
[138]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 41.
[139]Gutierrez, "Compromising on Autonomy".
[140]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 41.
[141]Stankovitch and Carl, "Compromising on Autonomy", p. 7.
[142]Ibid., p. 7.
[143]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 344; Lidasan, "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao", p. 164.

cooperated with the AFP against the MILF.[144]

President Joseph Estrada declared an "all-out" war against the MILF in 2000.[145] The government wanted to execute an offensive against Camp Abu Bakar to weaken the MILF's position at the bargaining table during future peace negotiations.[146] Camp Abu Bakar in Maguindanao province had been the MILF's primary headquarters since the 1980s.[147] The camp served as a military base as well as a proto-Islamic state, with a civilian population and a separate legal and judicial system adhering to sharia law.[148]

Assaulting the camp required all the AFP troops currently stationed in Mindanao and forced the AFP to pull out and redeploy units from the communist fronts in Luzon and the Visayas.[149] Two marine brigades and an infantry division dedicated to the ASG strongholds of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi were deployed.[150] The AFP's Office of Strategic and Special Studies describes the need to pull soldiers from other insurgent fronts,

> "Since the AFP had limited resources it was compelling for it to fight in an economical way. This is in keeping with what military art dictates: proper allocation of combat power to priority objectives, leaving other goals less supported. At the start of the campaign, the AFP redeployed troops from Samar and Panay to Mindanao, from Palawan to Lanao del Norte, and from Sulu and Tawi-Tawi to Maguindanao. This was how the AFP made the fullest use of all available forces; it pulled out troops from less critical areas of the country to Central Mindanao, the theater of conflict."[151]

The battle of Camp Abu Bakar was immense. The fight displaced more than 900,000 civilians.[152] Even after pulling in reinforcements from other insurgencies, the AFP faced shortages in soldiers, weapons, ammunition, and equipment.[153] Several of the weapons the AFP were relying on were from the era of the Vietnam War.[154]

4.3.2 Actor Reputations

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy holds that both governments and rebel groups can improve their domestic and international reputations by signing a

[144] Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 344.
[145] Mel C. Labrador. "The Philippines in 2001: High Drama, a New President, and Setting the Stage for Recovery". *Asian Survey* 42.1 (2002), pp. 141–149.
[146] Anthony Davis. "The Descent Into War". *CNN* (May 19, 2000).
[147] Lidasan, "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao".
[148] Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 342.
[149] Armed Forces of the Philippines. *In Assertion of Sovereignty: The 2000 Campaign Against the MILF*. ed. by Cesar Pobre and Raymund Quilop. Office of Strategic and Special Studies, 2008, pp. 38, 116.
[150] Armed Forces of the Philippines, *In Assertion of Sovereignty*, pp. 37–38; Rommel C. Banlaoi. "The Sources of the Abu Sayyaf's Resilience in the Southern Philippines". *CTC Sentinel* 3.5 (2010), pp. 17–19.
[151] Armed Forces of the Philippines, *In Assertion of Sovereignty*, p. 132.
[152] International Crisis Group, *Southern Philippines Backgrounder*, pp. 6–7.
[153] Armed Forces of the Philippines, *In Assertion of Sovereignty*.
[154] Ibid., pp. 122–123.

peace accord, even if the peace agreement excludes one or more rebel groups. We also find evidence of this in the case of the Philippines. In the mid-1990s, the government of the Philippines received international commendation for its willingness to sign an agreement with the MNLF. Major world powers, including the U.S and the European Union, praised the regime for finding a way to a peace agreement with the MNLF.[155] No mention was made of the excluded Moro rebel groups.

The exclusive peace agreement also strengthened the MNLF's reputation. The peace agreement allowed the MNLF to regain its position as the main representative of the Moro people.[156] At one time, the MNLF was the predominant Moro organization; in 1975 the OIC had recognized the organization as their sole legitimate representative.[157] However, throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the MNLF had declined in its military capabilities, political power, and popular support, relative to the MILF.[158] By the 1990s, the MNLF faced diminishing recruits and growing competition from Islamist organizations, including the MILF. The threat posed by other insurgent groups incentivized the MNLF to sign a peace deal to regain its former standing in the Moro community. A contemporary source described how the peace agreement with the MNLF altered the balance of power between the MNLF and other Moro insurgent groups,

> "Peace offered the MNLF a new possibility of regaining the upper hand. The MNLF needed to regain its moral ascendancy among the Moro people and sought to do so through peace. Its military weakness and growing competition from other Muslim groups threatened its position as the representative of the Bangsa Moro struggle. As such, it seized the opportunity to compromise with the government at the time when it was still seen as the sole legitimate representative of Muslims in Mindanao."[159]

The 1996 peace agreement transformed the MNLF from a guerrilla group to the legitimate leader of the ARMM government.

The Final Peace Agreement also gave the MNLF access to power not available to other Moro groups. The MNLF was able to exercise substantial power by leading both the governorship of the ARMM and the SPCPD. At the head of these posts, MNLF leaders would be able to distribute jobs and aid to secure the loyalty of supporters.[160] This was critical, according to former President Ramos, because providing alternative employment

[155]Council of the European Union General Secretariat. *Declaration by the Presidency on Behalf of the European Unionon the Peace Talks with the MNLF*. 11173/95 (Presse 308). Nov. 10, 1995; Thomas Hubbard. *U.S.-Philippine Relations: Opportunities to Enhance Our Enduring Partnership*. Mar. 6, 2001.

[156]Friedrich Plank. "Not Enough Pieces of the Cake? The Moro National Liberation Front (Mnlf) in the Mindanao Final Agreement". *Asian Security* 11.2 (2015), pp. 154–177, p. 162.

[157]Stankovitch and Carl, "Compromising on Autonomy".

[158]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 50.

[159]Chris Guerlin, Moro NGO activist, Manila, May 1998, quote from ibid.

[160]Fidel V. Ramos. *Break Not the Peace: The Story of the GRP-MNLF Peace Negotiations, 1992-1996*. Manila: Friends of Steady Eddie, 1996.

would prevent MNLF soldiers from joining other insurgent, terrorist, and criminal groups.[161] The MNLF was facing declining support and commitment, but the peace agreement reversed their fortunes, cementing their position as the sole legitimate representative of the Moro people.

4.4 Military Integration in the 1996 Final Peace Agreement

The text of the 1996 peace agreement called for 5,750 MNLF soldiers to become members of the AFP, with another 250 MNLF soldiers to be integrated into auxiliary units. MNLF soldiers would serve in separate units for a transitional period, and would then be individually integrated into regular AFP units.[162] Additionally, 1,500 MNLF soldiers would become members of the Philippine National Police (PNP), with an additional 250 soldiers incorporated into auxiliary units. The peace accord also called for the establishment of a Special Regional Security Force of indeterminate size.

Figure 4.1: MNLF Soldiers Integrated into the AFP

MNLF integrees prior to being given medals and an increase in rank in the AFP after performing well in the Kauswagan conflict, April 3rd 2000. Source: Bobby Timonera.

[161] Ramos, *Break Not the Peace*.
[162] *Final Peace Agreement*, 1996, para. 20b

The integration of the MNLF into the AFP and has been commended as the most successfully implemented component of the peace accord.[163] The AFP waived its traditional age, height, and educational requirements for recruits to facilitate the incorporation of MNLF soldiers.[164] Soldiers were, however, required to bring a weapon with them to be eligible for integration.[165] The leadership of the MNLF was given full control over the which soldiers would be considered for integration.[166] MNLF soldiers given a position in the army or police force could pass their allotment onto younger sons and nephews if they wished. A significant number chose to do so.[167] In April of 1998, the first 1,106 MNLF had completed training and were deployed.[168] By September of 1999, 4,850 MNLF soldiers had been trained and deployed.[169]

The government and MNLF leadership differed in opinion on the number, composition, and where the soldiers would be posted.[170] The MNLF wanted soldiers to be integrated as a unit and for the soldiers to serve exclusively within Mindanao. The AFP wanted to integrate individual soldiers into existing units and sought to reserve the right to deploy the soldiers anywhere they were needed in the Philippines.[171] During negotiations, Misuari strongly pressed for the AFP to accept a large number of MNLF integrees, arguing the number should be based on the proportion of Muslims living in the Philippines.[172] The AFP wanted to accept fewer soldiers than the number of soldiers the MNLF advocated.[173]

4.4.1 Why Were Warring Parties Willing to Agree to Military Integration

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy argues that peace agreements can fortify a government's counterinsurgency force by integrating rebel soldiers into the national armed forces. I find evidence that the government was willing to agree to Misuari's demands for integration because the incorporation of rebel soldiers into the national armed forces offered additional manpower, local knowledge, and undermined civilian support for other Moro insurgent groups. According to my theory, military integration should

[163]Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*, p. 264.
[164]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces".
[165]Makinano and Lubang, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: The Mindanao Experience*.
[166]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces".
[167]Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*.
[168]Ibid., pp. 270–271.
[169]Ibid., pp. 270–271.
[170]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", p. 107.
[171]Ibid., p. 107.
[172]B. Rudy Rodil. "Kalinaw Mindanaw: The Story of the GRP-MNLF Peace Process, 1975-1996". Alternate Forum for Research in Mindanao, 2000, p. 113.
[173]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces".

act as a mechanism for side-switching, leading signatory rebel groups to participate in counterinsurgency offensives against other rebel groups. This should occur even where the signatory and excluded rebel groups share strong ethnic bonds, religious affinity, and political objectives.

Why was the MNLF willing to join forces with the very institution it had fought for decades? During negotiations, Misuari constantly expressed worry over the possibility that the MNLF soldiers would defect to other militant groups if the government was not able to provide a livelihood.[174] Military integration served this objective, providing income and job security to prevent MNLF soldiers from joining competitors, including MILF and ASG. In addition to providing economic security, being uniformed soldiers brought prestige to soldiers and their families.[175] The MNLF leadership was given full control over the list of soldiers that would be eligible to be integrated. As such, spots on the list functioned as patronage, similar to offering bureaucratic jobs in exchange for loyalty.[176] At the negotiation table, the MNLF's leverage lay not in their military strength, but rather, in the potential for its members to leave and join other insurgent and terrorist groups.[177]

Why was the government willing to accede to incorporating MNLF soldiers into the national armed forces? The program was expensive. Military integration required the government to pay for facilities for training, billeting, daily supplies, and salaries.[178] In the case of the MNLF, we find strong support for the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy: the government was willing to integrate rebel soldiers into the AFP to strengthen its counterinsurgency operations against other groups.

First, incorporating MNLF soldiers increased the AFP's fighting capacity. AFP leadership saw the peace agreement provision as a straightforward way to obtain additional manpower for dealing with both the communist and Moro insurgencies. Hall writes, "MNLF integration under the terms of a peace agreement lent formality and fiscal legitimacy to what was desirable for the military: additional manpower for counterinsurgency operations."[179] In negotiations, the government wished to reserve the right to deploy these forces wherever they were needed, implying the government anticipated the possibility of needing MNLF soldiers in war fronts outside of Mindanao.

Second, the AFP believed the incorporation of MNLF soldiers would increase the effectiveness of counterinsurgency operations. Christian AFP soldiers deployed to Mindanao were generally unaware of Islamic cultural practices.[180] Christian soldiers lack the local knowledge

[174]Ramos, *Break Not the Peace*, pp. 86–87.

[175]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces".

[176]Ibid.

[177]Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)", p. 169; Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", p. 104.

[178]Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*.

[179]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", p. 107.

[180]Ibid., p. 113.

that makes for effective counterinsurgency operations. Most integrated MNLF soldiers were deployed within the ARMM, where their representational presence and local knowledge have the greatest impact.[181]

Because MNLF soldiers are familiar with the geography, people, language, and customs, MNFL integrees were often deployed on surveillance against insurgent, terrorist, and criminal organizations.[182] In the opinion of a top AFP general, the integrees' largest contribution was the development of the military intelligence databases, filled with information collected during civil-military operations.[183] MNLF soldiers brought reliable and actionable information to the AFP.[184] Integrated MNLF soldiers were also able to negotiate with other Moro insurgent groups on behalf of the government during military offensives and kidnappings.[185]

Third, the Ramos regime believed the inclusion of Moro soldiers could remedy poor civilian-military relations in Mindanao. The AFP has acknowledged that its reputation in the eyes of civilians is an obstacle to successful security operations.[186] The government was "fully aware of the symbolic importance of military integration."[187] From the government's perspective, the integration of MNLF soldiers was a tool to break down perceptions of the AFP as a Christian institution.

Military integration contributed to a broader plan to increase the visibility of Muslim civil servants, as well as acknowledge Muslim distinctiveness. The inclusion of MNLF soldiers was designed to show that the military was inclusive, and as an extension, that the government broadly was accepting of Muslims.[188] The MNLF soldiers were sent out on missions that actively put the troops in view and communication with civilians, such as digging canals and the execution of livelihood programs.[189] The AFP also relied upon MNLF integrees to liaise with community leaders in Mindanao.[190]

And these efforts bore fruit. There is evidence that seeing Muslim members of the AFP undermined the 'us versus them' mentality that had previously dominated social interactions in the region. The presence of MNLF soldiers changed civilians' perceptions of the government, making the AFP appear more 'humane' and 'welcoming' to Muslim communities.[191] The AFP believed that "Muslim recruits were critical to the strategy of

[181]Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process. *Report on the Implementation of the 1996 Final Peace Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)*..

[182]Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)", pp. 173–174.

[183]Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*.

[184]Lidasan, "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao".

[185]Ibid., pp. 178–179.

[186]Armed Forces of the Philippines. *Internal Peace and Security Plan "Oplan Bayanihan"*. 2011, p. 8.

[187]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", p. 115.

[188]Ibid., p. 106.

[189]Makinano and Lubang, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: The Mindanao Experience*.

[190]Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)", pp. 173–174.

[191]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National

winning hearts and minds."[192]

The integration of MNLF soldiers also changed the culture of the military. Guidelines were formulated to allow Muslim soldiers to take breaks during Ramadan rather than Christmas.[193] Some commanders allowed Muslim soldiers to take on lighter duties when fasting during Ramadan. The AFP changed its policies to allow for multiple wives to claim spousal benefits in deference to Islamic custom.[194] Mosques were constructed at some AFP camps. The effects of these programs can be seen in the relatively small number of MNLF soldiers that left the AFP after integration.[195] By offering a bridge between cultures, these changes may have altered MNLF soldiers' attitudes toward the central government, as well as affected the attitudes of civilians who observed the changes from outside.

From 1996 until the peace agreeement unraveled in 2001, the AFP was able to use MNLF soldiers in counterinsurgency operations. The commanders of army battalions expressed satisfaction with the performance of MNLF soldiers. One battalion commander reported to a lieutenant colonel during the transitional period that the MNLF soldiers were already performing better than many officers within the AFP. The lieutenant colonel speculated this could be attributed to the soldiers' field and combat experience.[196] In assessing the contribution of MNLF soldiers into the AFP, Santos (2010) writes,

> "In combat, AFP unit leaders said they had confidence leading a patrol containing MNLF integrees, finding them reliable in searching for the enemy, be it MILF rebels, kidnap-for-ransom groups, or other lawless elements. MNLF integrees are described as being aware of their duties and responsibilities. Some operational tasks could be delegated to them, though they are said to have some difficulty with established combat Standard Operating Procedures because of their background as former rebels used to different tactics and procedures.
>
> AFP unit leaders also expressed confidence in the intelligence information provided by MNLF integrees, describing it as generally highly reliable and yielding positive results such as the confiscation of high-powered firearms during operations. Because of their familiarity with the area, people, and language, integrees are often sent on surveillance missions against enemy targets."[197]

Government fears of incorporating disloyal soldiers were unfounded. While there have been instances where MNLF integrees defected to return to fighting for the remaining Moro insurgent groups, integrated soldiers showed loyalty to the AFP and PNP (even after Misuari

Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", pp. 106–116.

[192]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", pp. 106–116.

[193]Ibid.

[194]Ibid.

[195]Ibid.

[196]Lidasan, "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao", pp. 177–178.

[197]Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)", p. 173.

pulled out of the peace accord in 2001).[198] Most importantly, MNLF integrees were not hesitant to participate in campaigns against the MILF and ASG. MNLF soldiers expressed no reservations about fighting fellow Muslims, expressing that their obligations to the AFP came before their ethnic or religious allegiances. Santos reflects that, "MNLF integrees did not express sadness or evince low morale when fighting fellow Muslims, such as the MILF or certain kidnap-for-ransom groups, saying that duty came before anything else."[199] MNLF soldiers have served in many offensives against the MILF, include the 2000 battle of Camp Abu Bakar.[200]

4.4.2 Testing the Alternative Explanations for Military Integration

According to my theory, governments should be most willing to agree to peace agreement provisions for military integration when they need a strengthened counterinsurgency capability. In the peace process with the MNLF, Misuari was the strongest advocate of a program for military integration. For many years, Misuari had argued for military integration as a part of a peace process. In 1987 Misuari pushed that 85 percent of security forces in the region should be former MNLF soldiers.[201] During subsequent negotiations, Misuari advocated that all MNLF soldiers should be integrated into the AFP.[202]

Political capital in peace negotiations is finite. Why did Misuari press for the inclusion of MNLF soldiers into the AFP, possibly to the exclusion of other concessions? The most popular explanation in the literature would suggest that military power-sharing provisions allayed fears of government retaliation. According to current theories, military integration resolves commitment problems by allowing rebel groups to keep their arms during the implementation of a peace agreement. Hartzell and Hoddie cite the integration of MNLF soldiers into the AFP as an example this kind of commitment device.[203] However, three factors negate this explanation for the MNLF's push to include military integration in the peace accord.

First, central to this explanation is the assumption that the integration of rebel soldiers into the national military allows rebels to remain armed rather than be exposed and vulner-

[198]Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)".

[199]Ibid., pp. 173–174.

[200]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", p. 113.

[201]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*.

[202]Peace and Development Panel for Mindanao and the Cadilleras. *Aide Memoire on the Mindanao Peace Talks: Position of the Philippine Government Panel.* 1987, Abraham Iribani and Charithie Joaquin. "The MNLF Integration to the AFP: Issues and Concerns". The Strategic Studies Group Meeting, National Defense College of the Philippines. Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City, July 8, 2003, cited in Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)"

[203]Hartzell and Hoddie, *Crafting Peace*, p. 32.

able during disarmament.[204] No clause in the peace agreement required MNLF soldiers not selected for military integration to disarm. [205] While there was an arms buyback program, it was voluntary and not targeted at insurgents.[206]

In fact, soldiers who were integrated were required to disarm to a greater degree than soldiers who were not integrated. The incorporation of MNLF soldiers operated under a 'no gun no integration' policy. MNLF soldiers that wished to join the AFP were required to bring and forfeit a weapon before integration.[207] Soldiers were rearmed after they completed training.[208]

In the Southern Philippines, military integration left *fewer* arms in the hands of MNLF soldiers. The only disarmament clause in the agreement specifies that rebel soldiers must provide a weapon before integration into the AFP. Remaining armed and outside the scope of the agreement remained an option for many. After the peace agreement was signed, a substantial number of MNLF soldiers remained separate from the AFP, and continued to pose a significant threat.[209]In this way, established theories of military integration fail to explain the MNLF's push to become members of the AFP.

Second, for military integration to serve as a commitment mechanism in the traditional sense, a large number of rebel soldiers must be integrated into the military. A sufficient number of rebel soldiers must be integrated such that the state's coercive forces are "neutralized."[210] Military integration provides a credible commitment device when it is implausible that integrated armed forces would comply with an order to assault unintegrated members of the insurgency. If integrated rebel soldiers remain armed, orders to liquidate the rebel group would not be executed. If army soldiers did act on such orders, rebel soldiers would use their arms and come to the defense of the rebel organization. But this effect presumes a force of integrated soldiers that is sufficiently large to generate real costs. MNLF soldiers made up only about four percent of the total armed forces post-integration.[211] It is highly unlikely that the MNLF believed that such a program could change the decision-making of the AFP.

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[204]Some peace agreements call for all members of a rebel organization to join the national armed forces. The point still stands, that military integration allow rebel soldiers to remain armed rather than disarm.

[205]*Final Peace Agreement.*

[206]Soliman M. Santos Jr. "DDR and 'Disposition of Forces' of Philippine Rebel Groups (Overview)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines.* Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 139–161, p. 151.

[207]International Crisis Group. *The Philippines: Dismantling Rebel Groups.* 248. June 2013, p. 4 MNLF soldiers who joined the PNP were not required to turn in a weapon, possibly because the PNP lacked necessary firearms and required integrees to use their own in the line of duty. Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)", p. 175

[208]Makinano and Lubang, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: The Mindanao Experience*.

[209]Lidasan, "The Complexity of Armed Conflict in Mindanao", p. 160.

[210]Hartzell and Hoddie, *Crafting Peace*, p. 32.

[211]Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", pp. 115–116.

Third, MNLF soldiers were integrated as individuals rather than as units. Doing so broke connections between MNLF commanders and their soldiers.[212] The government was adamant that units be mixed, rather than have MNLF soldiers serve in separate units, to strengthen the army's counterinsurgency capability across its units. Hall writes,

> "[The integration program's] limited scope, the lack of an accompanying disarmament and demobilization program, the diversity of the recruits (ex-combatants and proxies), and the provision for mixed rather than separate units all served to strengthen the army's counterinsurgency capability..."[213]

Structuring the program for military integration this way simultaneously strengthened the counterinsurgency effects of integration while diminishing the ability of the rebel soldiers to deter government attacks against attacks on unintegrated soldiers or civilians. The more fragmented rebel soldiers are across a national military, the more difficult it is for integrated soldiers to deter government offensives against the rebel soldiers not integrated into the military or the civilian supporters of the rebel cause. The evidence in the case of conflict in Mindanao suggests that neither signing party was motivated to include military integration as commitment devise designed to minimize rebel group vulnerability during the implementation of the peace accord. But rather, in line with the expectations of the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy, military integration provided troops, local knowledge, and helped to undermine civilian support for the excluded rebel groups.

4.5 Failure of the Final Peace Agreement Agreement

For five years, the Final Peace Agreement brought an end to the war between the government and the MNLF. The deal did not, however, bring peace to Mindanao. Immediately after the peace accord with the MNLF was signed, the war between the MILF and the AFP escalated. The number of soldiers in the MILF is estimated to have increased from 8,000 in 1996 to 15,420 in 1999.[214] The grievances that had supported the MNLF's insurgency continued to fan the flames of civil war, only this time in benefit of the MILF. Many defected from the MNLF to the MILF as the ARMM floundered.

There was also widespread disappointment in the results of the 1996 accord. The expanded authority Misuari and Ramos had agreed upon was abbreviated by Congress.[215] As governor of the ARMM, Misuari faced bureaucratic gridlock, legal challenges, political attack,

[212] The text of the 1996 agreement indicates that MNLF soldiers would initially serve in separate units and, after a transitional period, would be integrated into regular AFP units. There is a wide belief amongst Moro soldiers, however, that the agreement calls for separate Moro units within the AFP. This is possibly the result of confusing the integration of MNLF soldiers into the AFP with the establishment of the SRSF.

[213] Hall, "From Rebels to Soldiers: An Analysis of the Philippine Policy of Integrating Former Moro National Liberation Front Combatants into the Armed Forces", pp. 103–104.

[214] Makinano and Lubang, *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: The Mindanao Experience*.

[215] Benedicto R. Bacani. *The Mindanao Peace Talks: Another Opportunity to Resolve the Moro Conflict in the Philippines*. Vol. 31. United States Institute of Peace, 2005, p. 10.

limited popular support, and a lack of funding.[216] To many, Misuari appeared more interested in globe-trotting than residing in the ARMM.[217] Those on the side of the government argue that allocated funds were lost to corruption, mismanagement, and an inflated bureaucracy.[218] Citizens' expectations about economic changes in Mindanao were not met. The poverty rate in the ARMM actually increased from 62.5% in 1997 to 73.9% in 2000.[219] While each side faulted the other for the failure, the consensus was that the Final Peace Agreement had not been a success.[220]

The government moved forward with the referendum called for three years after the peace agreement was signed. Misuari opposed the referendum being held, arguing that the ARMM was not yet ready.[221] When the delayed referendum was eventually held in 2001, the results were abysmal for the MNLF. Only the initial four provinces (Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi), the province of Basilan (excluding its primary city of Isabela City), and the city of Marawi voted to join the ARMM.[222]

The MNLF Central Committee subsequently replaced Misuari as MNLF chairman. The government then removed Misuari as SPCPD chairman. In retaliation, Misuari declared he would return to violence.[223] In November of 2001, MNLF forces loyal to Misuari attacked an AFP brigade headquarters and killed eighteen soldiers.[224]

4.5.1 Other Instances of Rebel Group Counterinsurgency Cooperation

After the failure of the government's peace accord with the MNLF, several events transpired that provide clear links between rebel group cooperation in government counterinsurgency campaigns and peace processes. Two events demonstrates the linkages between peace processes and rebel groups' willingness to cooperate with government counterinsurgency offensives against other rebel groups.

In the mid-2000s, the MNLF's swung between cooperation with the ASG against the AFP to participating in AFP counterinsurgency offensives against the ASG. The decisions of the MNLF during this period demonstrate the strong ties between peace processes and side switching. After the collapse of the Final Peace Agreement, the MNLF forged a cooperative relationship with the ASG. In the following year, the government dangled in front of the MNLF the possibility of a restarting peace negotiations. Promises of a renewed peace process

[216]Gutierrez, "Compromising on Autonomy", p. 70.
[217]Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession*, p. 352.
[218]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines".
[219]Celia Reyes and Lani Valencia. "Poverty Reduction Strategy and Poverty Monitoring: Philippine Case Study". *Regional Conference on Poverty Monitoring in Asia*. 2004.
[220]Bertrand, "Peace and Conflict in the Southern Philippines", p. 45; Tuminez, "This Land Is Our Land", p. 82.
[221]Labrador, "The Philippines in 2001".
[222]Ibid.
[223]Ibid.
[224]Roel Pareño. "Misuari Declares War; 52 Killed, 83 Wounded". *The Philippine Star* (Nov. 20, 2001).

were sufficient to secure the cessation of the MNLF's most overt forms of support for the ASG. As the peace talks progressed, the MNLF began to provide valuable intelligence to the AFP and actively fought the ASG alongside government soldiers. The end of the peace process, however, brought an end to this cooperation.

Similarly, the MILF was willing to cooperate in the AFP's campaigns against the Indonesian terrorist group Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). The government of the Philippines made significant concessions in its peace process with the MILF, a reflection the MILF' contributions to the fight against JI. The MILF's willingness to aid the AFP in its fight against JI brought the government and the MILF to a compromise position. The peace process was then derailed by the intervention of the Supreme Court.

4.5.1.1 MNLF Cooperation Against ASG

After the failure of the 1996 peace agreement, Misuari's MNLF loyalists established a close relationship with the ASG. Misuari's MNLF fought along ASG in a battle between the ASG and the AFP in Sulu in 2005.[225] The battle was devastating, with an estimated 80,000 people, or 15% of the total Sulu population, being displaced in the aftermath.[226]

In response, in 2006, the government attempted to revive the MNLF peace process, initiating the 'Sulu Road Map for Peace and Development.'[227] The MNLF still hoped that the 1996 agreement would be implemented. The government of the Philippines leveraged this possibility to secure the MNLF's cooperation in the AFP's subsequent campaigns against the ASG.[228] At first, this involved the MNLF publicly pulling its support from the ASG. And keeping the MNLF out of the fight was critical to the success of these missions,

> "The GRP [Government of the Republic of the Philippines] was able to convince the MNLF that continued support to the ASG would jeopardize the 1996 RP/MNLF Peace Treaty. To preserve the gains the MNLF had made in winning autonomy from the GRP, the MNLF publicly severed support to the ASG and condoned the ASG's destruction by AFP forces. Although there continued to be clear indications that the MNLF was secretly supporting the ASG on Sulu, the agreement prevented the MNLF from entering the fighting and openly supporting or harboring the ASG/JI."[229]

The MNLF demonstrated for the AFP what it would be like to pursue the ASG and the Indonesian terrorist group JI without also needing to battle with the MNLF. As the peace

[225] Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", p. 76.
[226] Ibid., p. 76.
[227] The Philippine Star. "Peace, Development Roadmap for Sulu Pushed" (July 18, 2006).
[228] Jonathan P. Hastings and Krishnamurti A. Mortela. "The Strategy-Legitimacy Paradigm: Getting It Right in the Philippines". Naval Postgraduate School, 2008, p. 94.
[229] Ibid., p. 94.

process progressed, the MNLF began to actively cooperate with the army against the ASG.[230] In 2006 MNLF soldiers fought against the ASG and JI as part of AFP's *Oplan Ultimatum*.[231] The MNLF provided valuable intelligence about the ASG in Sulu to the AFP.[232] *Oplan Ultimatum* was reported to have reduced the number of ASG soldiers by 20%.[233]

The lack of progress on the peace process, however, ended this cooperation.[234] Abuza argues that the AFP launched a 'crippling blow' to the ASG, killing several top commanders in early 2007.[235] It is possible the peace process unraveled because the government no longer believed it needed the cooperation of the MNLF. Fierce violence between the MNLF and AFP broke out in April of 2007 and the AFP subsequently seized several MNLF camps in Sulu.[236] In the mid-2000s, the MNLF flip-flopped from an active collaborator with the ASG to revoking its support for the group. The group then fought alongside AFP soldiers in battles against the ASG only to subsequently breaking all cooperation with the government. The use of peace negotiations to secure military cooperation in counterinsurgency campaigns against other insurgent groups is unanticipated by my theory. These links highlight the close relationship between peace processes and coalition-shifting in multiparty civil wars.

4.5.1.2 MILF Cooperation Against JI

Members of the MILF formed ties with the Indonesian terrorist group JI in the training camps of Afghanistan in the mid-1980s.[237] JI's political objective is to establish an Islamic state in Southeast Asia that includes both Indonesia and the Philippines.[238] While the group's primary target is the government of Indonesia, almost a third of the terrorist attacks executed by JI between 1993 and 2012 occurred in the Philippines.[239]

In the early 1990s, the MILF allowed JI to establish training camps in the territories they governed.[240] In 1994, JI established and ran Camp Hudaibiyah from within the MILF's

[230] Santos Jr., "War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)", p. 76.

[231] MNLF soldiers that had been integrated into the AFP also participated in this offensives against the ASG. (Santos Jr., "MNLF Integration into the AFP and the PNP: Successful Cooptation or Failed Transformation? (Case Study)", pp. 179–180)

[232] Ibid., pp. 179–180.

[233] International Crisis Group. *The Philippines: Counter-Insurgency vs. Counter-Terrorism in Mindanao*. May 14, 2008, p. 15.

[234] Ibid., p. 15.

[235] Zachary Abuza. "The Demise of the Abu Sayyaf Group in the Southern Philippines". *CTC Sentinel. Combating Terrorism Center at West Point* 1 (2008), pp. 10–13.

[236] Santos Jr. and Santos, "Moro National Liberation Front and Its Bangsamoro Armed Forces (MNLF-BAF)", p. 327.

[237] International Crisis Group, *Southern Philippines Backgrounder*, p. 13.

[238] Angel Rabasa. *Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radical and Terrorists*. Routledge, 2014.

[239] 22 of 79 attacks. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), *Global Terrorism Database*.

[240] Abuza, *Balik-Terrorism*.

headquarters at Camp Abu Bakar. At Camp Hudaibiyah, JI trained MILF recruits.[241] In 1998, JI established a military academy for its own trainees within the confines of Camp Abu Bakar. The training camps attracted members of other terror groups. The head of the Islamist terror group the Rajah Sulaiman Movement (RSM), Ahmed Santos, is said to have also attended trainings at a MILF camp during this time.[242] The head of the Philippine National Police anti-terrorism task force estimated that hundreds of foreign militants came to train in MILF camps between 1994 and 2004.[243]

After the battle of Camp Abu Bakar (discussed above), joint training continued between JI and the MILF, but in a smaller and more decentralized manner.[244] MILF soldiers helped JI to execute the Rizal Day bombings in Manila on December 30th, 2000. The attack involved several coordinated bombings in and around the Manila metro.[245] JI claimed that the bombings were in retaliation for the AFP assault on Camp Abu Bakar.[246] The MILF and JI are suspected in participating in the 2003 Davao bombings as well.[247] The series of bombings targeting the Davao airport and ferry terminals killed 39 people.[248]

After the failed experiment of an MNLF-controlled ARMM, the administration of Gloria Arroyo, inaugurated in January of 2001, expressed interest in beginning a peace process with the MILF.[249] The MILF was willing to push JI out of their camps as a gesture of goodwill in furtherance of the peace process.[250] The MILF began to distance itself from JI.[251] In December of 2004, the MILF and the government of the Philippines established the Ad Hoc Joint Action Group (AHJAG). AHJAG was designed to share intelligence and avoid unintended clashes between the AFP and MILF when the AFP pursued JI and other groups through MILF territory.

AHJAG was used as a mechanism to coordinate cooperation against jihadist groups in 2005. In January of 2005, a series of AFP airstrikes targeted JI leader Dulmatin in MILF territory. The MILF's subdued response implies that the strike occurred with tacit MILF consent.[252] If so, AHJAG would have been the forum for discussion and intelligence

[241] The MILF denied having ties to JI. Given the highly decentralized nature of the MILF organization during this period, it is feasible that cooperation between MILF commanders and JI was occurring against the wishes of MILF leadership. This is often referred to as the problem of "lost commanders." International Crisis Group, *Southern Philippines Backgrounder*.

[242] International Crisis Group. *Philippines Terrorism: The Role of Militant Islamic Converts*. Dec. 19, 2005, p. 7.

[243] The Philippine Star. "JI Camps Believed Dismantled" (Apr. 25, 2006).

[244] International Crisis Group, *Southern Philippines Backgrounder*.

[245] Ibid., p. 11.

[246] Ibid., p. 11.

[247] Seth Mydans. "16 Die in Bombing in Southern Philippines; Rebels Deny Link". *The New York Times* (Apr. 3, 2003).

[248] Ibid.

[249] Ferrer, *Costly Wars, Elusive Peace*.

[250] The Philippine Star, "JI Camps Believed Dismantled".

[251] International Crisis Group, *Philippines Terrorism: The Role of Militant Islamic Converts*.

[252] Ibid.

coordination.[253] Securing the MILF's cooperation as the AFP pursued JI and ASG was necessary to ensure that these operations did not escalate into full-scale war.[254] Had the AFP pursued either JI or ASG militants into territory controlled by the MILF without prior clearance, the MILF would have likely retaliated against this act of war.

From April 14th to 15th, 2005 airstrikes and ground operations targeted JI in MILF territory.[255] Only five days later, the government-MILF negotiation team announced that it had reached a consensus on several important questions about the Moro's claim to an ancestral territory.[256] Which areas would be included in the Bangsamoro was seen as the most complex and contentious issue on the peace process agenda.[257] The parties agreed to the first steps by which the Moro ancestral lands could be determined, with the Moro people having the right to use and develop the resources on these lands.[258] The government also agreed to acknowledge the distinctness of the Bangsamoro people.[259] The MNLF denounced the peace process with the MILF.

The MILF was willing to collaborate further with the government of the Philippines as a consequence of this breakthrough. In an 'unprecedented gesture of cooperation,' the MILF evacuated its men from several towns to allow AFP soldiers unconstrained access as they sought ASG and JI leaders. The offensive took three months.[260] As the peace process progressed, so did the collaboration between the MILF and the AFP. Cooperation between the government and MILF through the AJHAG was integral to the successful elimination of ASG leaders Kadaffy Janjalani and Abu Solaiman in 2006 and 2007.[261]

In 2008, the MILF and the Arroyo administration agreed that the new Bangsamoro autonomous entity would include all the provinces currently in the ARMM. The ARMM would also include Palawan as well as municipalities that voted to join the ARMM in 2001 but were located in provinces that overall did not vote to join the ARMM.[262] However, this compromise was struck down by the Supreme Court of the Philippines as unconstitutional, ruling that "the statute does not grant the Executive Department or any government agency the power to delineate and recognize an ancestral domain claim by mere agreement or compromise."[263]

If the Arroyo regime wanted to establish an autonomous entity like the one envisioned by the MILF and the government's negotiation team, they would have to obtain Congress's

[253]International Crisis Group, *Philippines Terrorism: The Role of Militant Islamic Converts*.
[254]Hastings and Mortela, "The Strategy-Legitimacy Paradigm", p. 43.
[255]International Crisis Group, *Philippines Terrorism: The Role of Militant Islamic Converts*, p. 14.
[256]Ibid., p. 14.
[257]Jamestown Foundation. *Peace Talks Amid Renewed Violence In The Philippines.* Volume 2 Issue 8. Apr. 28, 2005; Bacani, *The Mindanao Peace Talks*.
[258]International Crisis Group, *Philippines Terrorism: The Role of Militant Islamic Converts*, p. 14.
[259]Ibid., p. 14.
[260]Ibid., pp. 14–15.
[261]International Crisis Group, *The Philippines: Counter-Insurgency vs. Counter-Terrorism in Mindanao*.
[262]*Memorandum Of Agreement on the Ancestral Domain Aspect of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace of 2001. Peace & Reconciliation Missionaries.* 5th day of August, 2008.
[263]Dharel Placido. "Ferrer Says Lessons Learned from MOA-AD". *ABS-CBN News* (Aug. 13, 2014).

approval. Furthermore, the court found it was illegal to rely on past plebiscites as a measure of the public's willingness to join a new political entity. If the MILF wanted to replace the ARMM, all potential members of the new political entity would have to be given a say in whether they would join.[264]

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy posits that governments can strengthen their offensives against other rebel groups by signing exclusive peace agreements and then redistributing military resources across a limited set of threats. The case of the Southern Philippines demonstrates an additional unanticipated mechanism by which exclusive peace agreements can strengthen governments' counterinsurgency operations.

The prospect of an exclusive peace agreement minimized the MILF's cooperation with other insurgency groups. The MILF began to distance itself from JI in 2005 as a part of peace negotiations between the MILF and the Arroyo administration.[265] In the case of Mindanao, it appears that peace processes can facilitate side switching, even before the agreement is signed.

The ways that rebel groups can cooperate with a government against other rebel groups is a spectrum. On one end, rebel groups may actively battle other rebel groups on the government's behalf. On the other end of the spectrum are weaker forms of cooperation, such as providing intelligence or disallowing other rebel groups' access to territory. Exclusive peace agreements can be bargaining chips that governments leverage to minimize cooperation between rebel groups. For example, the MNLF allowed the AFP free access to ASG territory before the 1996 peace accord being finalized.[266] In doing so, the Ramos regime was able to secure a soft form of cooperation from the MNLF against the ASG before signing a peace accord. Similarly, the 1996 agreement also severed the tactical alliance that had existed between the NPA and the MNLF.[267]

4.6 An Exclusive Peace Agreement with the MILF

The Supreme Court's rejection of the compromise struck between the government and the MILF brought an end to the peace talks. The violence that followed killed approximately 400 people and displaced a further 750,000.[268] Beginning in 2011, the warring parties sought to create a peace deal that would involve the Congress of the Philippines and pass constitutional muster.[269]

On October 15th, 2012, the MILF and President Benigno Aquino signed the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro in Manila. The agreement outlines the replacement of the

[264]International Crisis Group. *The Philippines: Breakthrough in Mindanao*. Dec. 5, 2012, pp. 5–6.
[265]International Crisis Group, *Philippines Terrorism: The Role of Militant Islamic Converts*.
[266]Turner, "Terrorism and Secession in the Southern Philippines".
[267]Santos and Santos Jr., "Communist Party of the Philippines and Its New People's Army (CPP-NPA)", p. 270.
[268]Philippine Daily Inquirer. "What Went Before: The Proposed MOA-AD" (Oct. 9, 2012).
[269]International Crisis Group, *The Philippines: Breakthrough in Mindanao*, p. 2; Placido, "Ferrer Says Lessons Learned from MOA-AD".

ARMM with a new autonomous entity named the Bangsamoro.[270] The peace agreement calls for the MILF and Congress to elect a transition committee to draft a law establishing the Bangsamoro that would be passed by Congress.[271] According to the peace agreement, the Bangsamoro would have an 'asymmetric' relationship with the central government. The central government would be responsible for defense, foreign policy, international trade, citizenship, and postal services. The Bangsamoro would have the power to determine and collect taxes as well as have a 'just and equitable share' in the revenues generated from natural resources.[272]

All previous negotiations assumed that localities currently in the ARMM would automatically be included in the new political entity. This is to say, the peace negotiations always structured a referendum that could only expand the number of provinces in an autonomous entity, not contract it.[273] However, in light of the Supreme Court's decision, the MILF agreed that all provinces and cities would have to vote on the establishment of the Bangsamoro, including provinces, municipalities, and cities that had previously voted to join the ARMM.[274]

Negotiations to implement the plan continued, with the MILF and the Aquino regime signing the Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro on March 27th, 2014 in Manila.[275] The accord provided greater detail to the power-sharing initially outlined in the Framework Agreement. The agreement further enumerated the division of political powers between the Bangsamoro and the central government, including powers that would be shared between the two entities.[276] The parties agreed that Malaysia would serve as the head of an international monitoring team.

The accord calls for the creation of a separate Bangsamoro Police Force. Unlike the PNP, which is under the control of the central government, the executive operational control of the Bangsamoro Police Force will lie with the Bangsamoro. This force will be responsible for all intra-state security operations. The AFP will maintain installations in Mindanao only as needed for defense from external threats.[277]

Disarmament or demobilization was never made a precondition for the MILF to enter into peace talks.[278] The MILF would not agree to a provision for disarmament.[279] The MILF

[270] *Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro*. Oct. 15, 2012.
[271] International Crisis Group, *The Philippines: Breakthrough in Mindanao*, p. 4.
[272] *Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro*.
[273] International Crisis Group, *The Philippines: Breakthrough in Mindanao*, p. 4.
[274] *Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro*.
[275] *Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro*. Mar. 27, 2014.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Allen V. Estrera and Justin W. Lai. *Rebel Integration in Conflict Settlements: Past Lessons and the Prospects of MILF Reintegration*. Naval Postgraduate School Monterey United States, 2017.
[278] Armed Forces of the Phillipines. *In Assertion of Sovereignty: The Peace Process*. Quezon City: Office of Strategic and Special Studies, Armed Forces of the Philippines, 2009.
[279] Robert Muggah. "The Prospects for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front". *Study commissioned by UNDP and the World Bank (Manila: World Bank, 2004)* (2004).

and government officials saw giving MILF soldiers a role in regional security, possibly within the Bangsamoro police force, as preferable to alternative livelihood programs.[280]

The case of the peace process with the MILF is an open one. In this section, I analyze what is possible at this point in time. I first lay out how, as anticipated by the theory, the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro benefitted the MILF in its competition with other Moro organizations. I then bring to light how military cooperation between the MILF and the government is not only a consequence of the peace process, but cooperation in the field was used to shore-up trust after antagonistic events. Although the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro includes no provisions for military power-sharing, the exclusive peace agreement facilitated the MILF acting as a government-aligned militia during the Battle of Marawi. This form of informal side-switching may become more formalized with the implementation of the peace process.

4.6.1 Actor Reputations

Similar to the case of the MNLF in the 1990s, the MILF was also able to use an exclusive peace agreement to strengthen its reputation. Despite the MILF surpassing the MNLF in both military capabilities and popular support, the OIC continued to acknowledge the MNLF as the leaders of the Moro insurgency. This recognition limited the legitimacy of the MILF's claim to speak on behalf of the Moro people.[281] As a result, MILF had a strong reason to seek peace talks with the government. Negotiations helped to garner international recognition from other sources.

The government was reluctant to include third-party states in the peace talks.[282] The MILF, however, made the involvement of an international third-party a precondition for returning to the negotiating table.[283] The U.S. praised the government and MILF for the passage of the 2014 Comprehensive Peace Agreement.[284] If the MILF can use the ongoing peace process to successfully secure real autonomy and development for the Mindanao region, it will be unquestionable which organization is the premier representative of the Moro people. In both cases, the MNLF had fewer soldiers than the MILF and the MILF lacked the MNLF's international recognition. Each group saw a peace accord as a means to shore up their reputation.

4.6.2 The Mamasapano Clash

In January of 2015 Special Action Force and PNP officers pursued JI fighters into MILF territory in the Mamasapano municipality of the Maguindanao province. Clashes between the

[280] International Crisis Group, *The Philippines: Breakthrough in Mindanao*, p. 17.
[281] Bacani, *The Mindanao Peace Talks*, p. 10.
[282] Armed Forces of the Phillipines, *In Assertion of Sovereignty*, p. 179.
[283] Ibid., p. 60.
[284] "Philippines, Muslim Rebels Sign Final Peace Deal to End Conflict". *Reuters* (Mar. 27, 2014).

government forces and the MILF resulted in 44 government casualties.[285] In the aftermath, the government and MILF launched counterterror operations against the ASG and another Moro insurgent group, the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF), to regain lost confidence. A contemporary source writes,

> "The fate of the peace process in Mindanao hangs in the balance. The botched military operation in Mamasapano sparked arguably the biggest political crisis for the Aquino administration. The brutal killing of the Filipino commandos, even after they reportedly surrendered to the MILF troops, provoked massive outrage among ordinary Filipinos, the members of the PNP and AFP, and, most especially, the family of the victims, who have demanded justice. Several legislators have withdrawn their support from the BBL, putting into question whether the Philippine Congress would pass the law before Aquino steps down from office in 2016.
>
> Intent on saving the peace process, the Aquino administration and the MILF leadership have repeatedly reiterated their commitment to pursuing peace, but there is no agreement on a legal mechanism for accountability vis-à-vis the victims of the botched operation in Mamasapano. As a form of confidence-building measure, however, the AFP and MILF began launching counterterror operations against the BIFF and ASG, providing varying levels of coordination and operational support to each other."[286]

In Section 4.5.1 I demonstrated that, unexpectedly, rebel groups and governments were able to use military operations against other rebel groups to build trust prior to a peace accord. The Mamasapano Clash demonstrates that participation in government counterinsurgency campaigns can also be used to rebuild trust between belligerents even after a peace agreement has been signed.

4.6.3 The Battle of Marawi

The most important act of cooperation between the government and the MILF was during the battle for Marawi in 2017. Located on the northern edge of Lake Lanao, Marawi is the largest Muslim-majority city in the Philippines. On May 23, 2017, the AFP attempted to capture ASG leader Isnilon Hapilon after he was was spotted in the city. The AFP was unexpectedly met by over a hundred soldiers belonging to the Maute group.[287]

[285] Rappler. *Two Years after Mamasapano: What Has Happened to the Case?* Jan. 25, 2017. URL: `http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/flashback/159407-two-years-mamasapano-latest-updates` (visited on 02/11/2020).

[286] Richard Javad Heydarian. "The Quest for Peace: The Aquino Administration's Peace Negotiations with the MILF and CPP-NPA-NDF". *NOREF. no* (2015).

[287] Felipe Villamor. "Duterte Faces Test in Battle With ISIS-Linked Militants in the Philippines". *The New York Times* (May 25, 2017).

Figure 4.2: Peace Corridor from Marawi

The 73 kilometer joint AFP-MILF peace corridor from Marawi to Malabang in Lanao del Sur. Photo from the Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process.

The Maute group, also known as Islamic State-Lanao, is an Islamist terrorist group. Founded by the brothers Abdullah and Omar Maute, the group is largely composed of former MILF fighters.[288] Both the ASG and the Maute group are suspected of receiving financial support from the Islamic State in Syria.[289] However, local recruiting and fund-raising is the bedrock of the Maute group's success.[290] The ASG and the Maute group had convened in Marawi in preparation to siege the city. The siege to take Marawi was the first time the ASG and the Maute group had cooperated on a major operation.[291] The groups had planned their siege of Marawi to begin three days later, to coincide with the start of Ramadan.[292] With the AFP at their front door, the fight commenced.

Marawi is a city of over 200,000 people.[293] As such, the battle put tens of thousands of civilians in the middle of the battle. Over 30,000 civilians were displaced.[294] While the Maute

[288]Richard C. Paddock and Felipe Villamor. "Destroying a Philippine City to Save It From ISIS Allies". *The New York Times. World* (June 13, 2017).

[289]Jon Emont and Felipe Villamor. "ISIS' Core Helps Fund Militants in Philippines, Report Says". *The New York Times. World* (July 20, 2017).

[290]Ibid.

[291]Paddock and Villamor, "Destroying a Philippine City to Save It From ISIS Allies".

[292]Rohan Gunaratna. "The Siege of Marawi: A Game Changer in Terrorism in Asia". *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 9.7 (2017).

[293]Ben C. Solomon and Felipe Villamor. "Filipinos Get a Glimpse of Their Ruined City. The Chinese Get the Contract." *The New York Times. World* (Apr. 10, 2018).

[294]International Crisis Group. *The Philippines: Renewing Prospects for Peace in Mindano.* Crisis Group

group is estimated to have only 200 members,[295] the battle alone resulted in over 1,200 battle deaths.[296] Artillery and airstrikes left the Marawi city center in ruins.[297] Snipers perched on buildings made regaining control of the last portions of the city extremely difficult.[298] The battle lasted for five months.

To limit the carnage, the government of the Philippines and the MILF collaborated to create a peace corridor to evacuate civilians. The peace corridor provided a path for civilians to flee violence as well as space where humanitarian assistance could be delivered. Figure 4.2 maps the 73-kilometer corridor the MILF created from Marawi to Malabang in Lanao del Sur. The MILF also agreed to help the AFP ensure security in areas where there were no peace corridors.[299] According to a Major-General within the AFP, the MILF was providing the military with indirect fire support, expertise, and even air support during the battle.[300] The urban warfare of the battle of Marawi was fought "house to house, building by building."[301] This type of conflict is one where local knowledge and skills can make the most significant contribution. While the MILF waited for the government to write the legislation necessary to implement the peace accord, they demonstrated how critical the accord was to the fight against radical Islamic terror.

4.6.4 Bangamoro Organic Law

The threat posed by the ASG, the Maute group, and JI remains real and provides a strong incentive for the Philippine government to continue working to secure peace with the MILF.[302] Many of these smaller groups operate within the territory that the MILF control, but MILF leadership had no incentive to crack down on their operations before the implementation of the accords.[303] The existence of these groups gave the MILF leverage at the negotiation table, providing a "force multiplier" of the group's threat to return to violence.[304] President Rodrigo Duterte himself has argued that failure to keep a peace process with the MILF would be an invitation for Islamic State-aligned groups to set down roots in the Philippines.[305]

Asia Report 281. July 6, 2016, p. 14.

[295] International Crisis Group, *The Communist Insurgency in the Philippines*, p. 14.

[296] Jason Gutierrez. "5 Soldiers and 3 ISIS-Linked Militants Killed in Clashes in Philippines". *The New York Times. World* (Feb. 2, 2019).

[297] International Crisis Group. *The Philippines: Militancy and the New Bangsamoro.* June 27, 2019.

[298] Associated Press. "Philippines Says It Learned of City Siege Plans in Advance" (June 14, 2017).

[299] AsiaNews. "MILF and Manila Agree to a Humanitarian Corridor for Marawi" (May 31, 2017).

[300] Al Jazeera. "Philippine Army and Armed Groups Join Forces in Marawi" (Sept. 6, 2017).

[301] Paddock and Villamor, "Destroying a Philippine City to Save It From ISIS Allies".

[302] Zachary Abuza. *Can Duterte Bring Peace to the Philippines?* Nov. 25, 2016. URL: `https://thediplomat.com/2016/11/can-duterte-bring-peace-to-the-philippines/` (visited on 05/27/2019).

[303] Ibid.

[304] Ibid.

[305] The Philippine Star. "'I Can Give BBL to MILF, Sulu to Misuari'" (Aug. 4, 2016).

President Duterte, the first president of the Philippines from Mindanao, called for a referendum on legislation, the Bangsamoro Organic Law, to implement the government's peace agreements with the MILF.[306] In July of 2018, on the heels of the conclusion of the battle of Marawi, Congress passed the law. The Bangsamoro Organic Law was approved by public referendum in January of 2019. All but one of the provinces and cities in the ARMM voted in approval of the referendum. Additionally, Cotabato City and 63 villages in Cotabato province voted to join the new entity.[307] The MILF will run the Bangsamoro Transition Administration until elections in 2022.[308]

In August of 2019, 200 MILF soldiers began joint training with the AFP to become members of a Joint Peace and Security Team (JPST).[309] The JPSTs will include 1,400 members of the AFP, 1,600 PNP police officers, and the 3,00 MILF soldiers.[310] The primary job of the JPSTs will be to pursue militant groups affiliated with the Islamic State.[311] The training is the first step towards members of the MILF serving in the PNP and the MILF.[312] The JPST, however, will provide security as an independent entity until the 2022 elections.[313] Reflecting on the momentous event of MILF soldiers serving alongside AFP troops in the JPST, MILF Chairman Murad Ebrahim commented,

> "Many years ago this type of event was simply unimaginable. No one ever thought that the MILF combatants will ever be in a military camp to undertake a military training... But many previously unimaginable things have already happened and are actually happening now right before our eyes. The MILF has taken the mantle of leadership over the Bangsamoro Government in partnership with the government of the Republic of the Philippines."[314]

While the peace agreement with the MNLF resulted in the integration of MNLF soldiers into the AFP, the peace agreement between the government and the MILF facilitated the group's informal side switching. The battle of Marawi is a clear example of the government's need for MILF support in fighting other rebel forces. The MILF not only established a humanitarian corridor that evacuated tens of thousands of civilians from an active urban war zone, but the MILF also provided local intelligence and fire support. It also demonstrates the MILF's willingness to provide this aid in the furtherance of the peace process. Following

[306]Felipe Villamor. "Duterte Signs Law Giving More Autonomy to Muslims in Southern Philippines". *The New York Times. World* (July 26, 2018).
[307]International Crisis Group, *The Philippines*.
[308]Ibid.
[309]Roel Pareño. "Former MILF Fighters Start Training for Joint Peace and Security Teams". *The Philippine Star* (Aug. 1, 2019).
[310]Mark Navales. "225 MILF Combatants Undergo Training". *Manila Standard* (Aug. 1, 2019).
[311]Mark Navales and Froilan Gallardo. "Ex-Muslim Rebels Train with Philippine Forces to Counter Islamic State Militants". *BenarNews* (Aug. 2, 2019).
[312]Navales, "225 MILF Combatants Undergo Training".
[313]Navales and Gallardo, "Ex-Muslim Rebels Train with Philippine Forces to Counter Islamic State Militants".
[314]Ibid.

the siege of Marawi, the MILF urged the government to implement the peace agreements the group had signed.

For the government, cooperation with the MILF is critical to addressing other insurgencies. The ASG, as well as other rebel and terrorist groups, rely on the "enabling environment of long-term separatist insurgencies" to function.[315] The ungoverned spaces of the Southern Philippines have attracted numerous Islamist terrorist groups. It is the Moro rebellion that provides both the social base and the logistical feasibility for these groups to operate in the Philippines.[316]

When the MILF are given governance power in the region, their incentive to crack down on ungoverned spaces supporting Islamist terror groups will substantially increase. Consequently, a peace agreement with the MILF was a clear step toward undermining the climate of lawlessness that allows terrorist groups to operate.[317] The peace process with the MILF also minimized the cooperation between the MILF and the NPA. Historically, when under siege, MILF and NPA fighters would retreat into each other's territory.[318] The 2012 peace agreement with the MILF abrogated the tactical alliance that had existed since 1999, eliminating an important safe haven for the NPA.[319]

The role the MILF will play in state security institutions has yet to be cemented. The MILF is expected to fill many of the security positions in the new Bangsamoro government. And if the terms of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro are successfully executed, the MILF will be highly motivated to use their armed forces to eradicate pro-Islamic State groups. According to Abuza,

> "The MILF has a real incentive to crack down on pro-IS militants and deny them sanctuary... They have long made the argument to Philippine leaders and Congress that the antidote to IS militancy is a workable autonomy agreement. There is a lot of latent mistrust toward the MILF, so they have to prove themselves."

He argues that due to personal and kinship ties, the MILF will be far more effective at rooting the group out than the state security forces.[320]

[315] International Crisis Group, *Southern Philippines Backgrounder*.

[316] Soliman M. Santos Jr. "Terrorism and Philippine Armed Groups: Networks, Lists, and the Peace Process (Overview)". *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*. Ed. by Diana Rodriguez. South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey, Apr. 2010, pp. 91–114.

[317] International Crisis Group, *Southern Philippines Backgrounder*, p. 2.

[318] Ryan Rosauro. "Reds Forming Group to Recruit Moros". *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (July 16, 2005).

[319] Ibid.

[320] Amy Chew. "Philippine Pro-Islamic State Militants, Former Allies MILF Set for Showdown with Approval of Autonomy Law". *CNA* (July 28, 2018).

4.7 Why is the Agreement with the MILF Succeeding Where the Agreement with the MNLF Failed?

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy posits that exclusive peace agreements offer a commitment mechanism not found in inclusive peace agreements. As the threat posed by other rebels increases, rebel groups should be increasingly confident that the government will not take advantage of the signing group's vulnerability. In testing this component of my theory, it is useful to compare the government's peace processes with the MNLF and the MILF. Only in the case of the MILF did the threat posed by other rebels grow as the peace negotiations continued. The MILF, as a consequence, has had greater success in convincing the government to implement the terms of the peace accord.

In 1995, the ASG had gone on a multi-year spree of violence, culminating in the most fatal terrorist attack at that point in the country's history. It was not expected that violence would decline. The ASG appeared increasingly threatening to the security of Christians in Mindanao. The MNLF subsequently signed a peace agreement with the Ramos government. Afterward, an unanticipated event occurred. After the massacre at Ipil, the ASG entered a quiet period (in part a reflection of its transition to more criminal orientation) lasting until 2000.[321] While the number of MILF recruits increased substantially in the period after the Final Peace Agreement was signed, the region experienced a relative lull in violence. The government was less reliant on the MNLF to secure the region and did not fully implement the accord. The government did not defect from the agreement and take the offensive against the MNLF, but the government failed to execute important provisions of the peace agreement. Even though the MILF significantly built up its military strength during this period, the Moro conflict was relatively stable from 1996 until 2000. The MNLF had little to hold over the government. The AFP no longer needed the MNLF as part of its counterinsurgency strategy in Mindanao.

By contrast, the MILF was able to leverage the threat other rebel groups posed to secure the implementation of their peace accord. The MNLF had been unable to leverage a similar threat with the low-level of violence being executed by the MILF and ASG during the late 1990s. The shock of the battle for Marawi, the largest engagement by the AFP since World War II, and the MILF's argument that further delays would inspire Moro citizens and MILF soldiers to join the ASG, helped propel the organic law's passage in Congress.[322]

The MILF consistently argues that signing and implementing a peace accord is the antidote to extremism. MILF chairman Ebrahim Murad has long advocated that groups like ASG and the Maute group are a "result of the frustration with the peace process."[323] The ASG uses delays in the MILF peace process for recruitment.[324] Its membership is filled

[321]Turner, "The Management of Violence in a Conflict Organization", p. 389.
[322]International Crisis Group, *The Philippines*.
[323]Mogato. "Philippine Leader Approves Autonomy Law for Troubled Muslim Region". *Reuters* (July 26, 2018).
[324]International Crisis Group, *The Philippines*.

primarily with disillusioned former MILF fighters.[325] The government and the MILF now share the objective of deterring MILF soldiers and supporters from joining other Islamist groups. A collapse of the peace process with the MILF would create a significant increase in the number of Moro individuals willing to join in violent resistance.

Failure of the peace process would also increase the ungoverned spaces that harbor terrorist groups as the security situation descends into lawlessness.[326] Many ASG soldiers are kinsmen to MILF members.[327] The groups share a similar vision of a separate Islamic state for the Moro people. From the government's perspective, a settlement with the MILF is increasingly regarded as integral to containing Islamic extremism in the region.[328] In 2018, MILF chairman Murad Ebrahim publicly reminded the government, if legislation to implement the peace accord is not passed, "I think it will develop a situation where these extremist groups can recruit more adherents, because it will prove their theory that there is no hope in the peace process."[329]

4.8 Conclusion

War in the Philippines has been devastating. A conservative estimate of the war's cost from 1975 to 2002 includes at least 120,000 lives lost.[330] The economic damage of the conflict is well over USD 10 billion.[331] While Moro insurgents fight for self-determination, for the government, the conflict is a fight for the territorial integrity of the country.[332] The Republic of the Philippines contains over seven thousand islands. This archipelagic geography strains the military's ability to project power.[333] The government of the Philippines has been unable to defeat several insurgent groups that contest the state's sovereignty and has relied on a counterinsurgency strategy that uses exclusive peace agreements to strengthen their hand.

The case of civil war in Mindanao demonstrates how conflict dynamics with one rebel group influence the likelihood of a peace agreement being signed with another rebel group. Three critical events occurred the year before the peace agreement between the Ramos administration and the MNLF. The ASG committed the largest terrorist attack at the time in the country's history, placing significant public pressure on President Ramos to show evidence of concrete solutions to the Moro insurgency. The MILF escalated a campaign of

[325]Santos Jr. and Santos, "Moro National Liberation Front and Its Bangsamoro Armed Forces (MNLF-BAF)".
[326]International Crisis Group, *The Communist Insurgency in the Philippines*, pp. 12–14.
[327]Chew, "Philippine Pro-Islamic State Militants, Former Allies MILF Set for Showdown with Approval of Autonomy Law".
[328]Bacani, *The Mindanao Peace Talks*, p. 7.
[329]Llanesca Panti. "MILF Chief Warns of 'Another Marawi'". *The Manila Times* (Feb. 21, 2018).
[330]Salvatore Schiavo-Campo and Mary Judd. *The Mindanao Conflict in the Philippines : Roots, Costs, and Potential Peace Dividend*. 31822. The World Bank, Feb. 1, 2005, p. 1.
[331]Ibid.
[332]Armed Forces of the Philippines, *In Assertion of Sovereignty*.
[333]Armed Forces of the Philippines, *Internal Peace and Security Plan "Oplan Bayanihan"*, p. 5.

violence targeting national infrastructure. The communist insurgency, on the decline for over a decade, reversed course and began to regain strength. In 1996 the Ramos administration signed a peace agreement with the MNLF to focus its military capabilities against more radical Islamist insurgents.

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy posits that governments and rebel groups make material and reputational gains by signing an exclusive peace accord. The peace agreement with the MNLF served these purposes. The government redirected military resources against the MILF, successfully taking its headquarters at Camp Abu Bakar. The Philippine government was able to use the peace agreement, especially the provisions for military power-sharing, to undermine the credibility of the MILF's message. The MNLF was able to secure its position as the premier Moro political organization when faced with resurgent Islamist competitors. Both the government and rebel group gained international prestige by signing the accord, despite the significant players excluded from the peace process.

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy also holds that peace agreements can be mechanisms for rebel groups to switch sides in multiparty conflicts. Unanticipated by the theory, both the MNLF and MILF offered some help to the AFP in their fight against other rebel groups *before* signing an accord. In both cases, the rebel groups gave the AFP access to the territory of other rebel groups as a gesture of good faith in the peace process. Both the failed peace process with the MNLF after the Siege of Sulu and the peace process advanced by the MILF's cooperation against JI trace the ways that exclusive peace agreements are a part of a multiparty counterinsurgency strategy.

The continued threat these groups pose has been integral to the on-going implementation of the government's peace agreement with the MILF. In the 1990s, the MNLF soldiers brought manpower and local knowledge to the AFP's fight against the ASG. However, the government reneged from fulfilling the agreement when the threat posed by ASG subsided. Despite the lack of any military power-sharing provision in the peace agreement, the MILF has supported the AFP in its fight against Islamist groups like the ASG and the Maute group. The MILF continues to leverage its cooperation to secure the full implementation of its signed peace accord. Whether the MILF will formally incorporate into the AFP remains to be seen.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Multiparty civil wars are the longest and most violent type of civil conflict.[1] Governments are least likely to achieve a military victory when multiparty conflicts involve a large number of rebel groups[2] or militarily strong rebel groups.[3] It makes sense that governments in these circumstances would seek out strategies to strengthen their hand. Exclusive peace agreements, by limiting the number of rebel groups a government is fighting in a conflict, do just that. This thesis argues that, as such, exclusive intrastate peace accords serve a purpose beyond conflict resolution. Exclusive intrastate peace accords are also tools for war.

Scholars and policymakers alike give a low probability to the likelihood that warring parties are able to sign a peace accord when threatened by rebel groups outside of the peace process.[4] This research often focuses on specific offensives and bombing campaigns executed by excluded rebel groups.[5] Research on spoilers in this dissertation takes a step back. It is important to assess how and when rebel groups initiate violent campaigns to disrupt peace negotiations. However, exclusively focusing on these events ignores the broader, and perhaps a more impactful factor, of how the overall threat posed by any rebel group affects peace processes with other rebel groups. I argue that it is the overall latent threat posed by the excluded rebel group that encouraged the other warring parties to consider a peace process in the first place.

This thesis builds on the intuition that, in multiparty conflicts, peace agreements affect more than just the signatories to the accord. Warring parties, when facing extremely difficult multiparty conflicts, can strengthen their position against some rebel groups by signing an exclusive peace agreement. As a consequence, the threat posed by one or more

[1]Cunningham, *Barriers to Peace in Civil War*; Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*.
[2]Cunningham, *Barriers to Peace in Civil War*.
[3]Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan, "It Takes Two".
[4]Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes"; Findley, "Spoiling the Peace or Seeking the Spoils?"; Greenhill and Major, "The Perils of Profiling"; Shedd, "When Peace Agreements Create Spoilers"; Pearlman, "Spoiling inside and Out"; Nilsson and Söderberg Kovacs, "Revisiting an Elusive Concept"; Findley and Young, "R"; Reiter, "Does Spoiling Work?"
[5]See Kydd and Walter, "Sabotaging the Peace".

insurgent groups *increases* the likelihood that a government and rebel group sign a negotiated settlement.

In this chapter, I briefly summarize the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy as well as the results from the empirical tests of the theory. I then discuss the avenues for future research identified by envisioning peace accords as war-fighting strategies. Finally, I outline the policy implications of this research, with a focus on how warring parties, mediators, and humanitarian organizations should incorporate the implications of the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy into their decisions.

5.1 Theory in Brief

Multiparty conflicts require governments to stretch their troops, weapons, and intelligence resources across multiple fronts. An exclusive peace deal allows governments to consolidate their war-fighting resources against the remaining insurgent forces. Eliminating active war fronts may tip the scales in favor of the government, allowing the government forces to achieve a victory against the excluded rebel groups. Even where governments are unable to secure a victory, by placing stronger military pressure on the excluded rebel forces, governments may ultimately secure a more favorable negotiated settlement than they would otherwise. Compared to an inclusive peace process, signing a series of exclusive peace agreements as counterinsurgency strategy often minimizes the ultimate number of concessions governments must make to bring an end to a civil war.

Furthermore, negotiated settlements can improve the government's reputations in the eyes of both citizens and international actors. Governments can undercut civilian support for the excluded insurgent forces by making peace agreement concessions that undermine the legitimacy of insurgent grievances. Many rebel groups' *raison d'être* is the exclusionary nature of the state. Governments can contradict this idea by signing an exclusive peace accord with a rebel group from the same ethnic or political community. By signing an exclusive peace agreement, governments can also convince international and domestic audiences that the government is a peace-seeking regime battling spoilers to the peace process.

The exclusive nature of a peace accord benefits signing rebel groups as well. Rebel groups can leverage a government's need to reduce the number of rebel group they are fighting to obtain a better bargain than they would otherwise. Given the benefits to governments described above, agreements with large concessions to rebel signatories are still better for the government than continued fighting.

Moreover, commitment problems often deter warring parties from accepting favorable peace settlements. Rebel groups fear that governments will take advantage of the vulnerability created by disarmament. The exclusive nature of a peace accord can reassure rebel leaders. When fighting in difficult multiparty conflicts, governments have a credible incentive to abide by an accord and in order to limit the number of rebel organizations that the armed forces engage.

Additionally, in multiparty conflicts, an exclusive peace agreement can distinguish rebel groups from its competitors. An exclusive peace accord designates which rebel groups the state positions as an equal bargaining partner with the regime. Rebel groups facing competition from peer organizations can use a peace agreement with the state to elevate their status as the legitimate representative of an ethnic, religious, or political constituency.

The strategic environment of multiparty conflict also influences the content of the agreement. There are advantages to military integration that are uniquely appealing to governments fighting more than one rebel group. Military power-sharing brings new troops and weapons into the fight against the remaining insurgent forces. Integrating rebel soldiers also brings troops with valuable skill sets into the national armed forces. Rebel soldiers can provide knowledge of geography that negates the ability of rebels to hide in mountains and forests. Rebel soldiers also bring local knowledge of social networks, which can alleviate the rebels' ability to hide in plain sight.

As described above, exclusive peace agreements can undercut the credibility of the remaining rebel groups' propaganda. Exclusive peace agreements that bring rebel soldiers into the national armed forces even further demonstrate an affiliation between the state and a marginalized community. Who is included in the national armed forces is a powerful statement of who is trusted to wield coercive power. By integrating rebel soldiers, governments can further diminish civilian support for the remaining insurgent forces.

At first, it may be counterintuitive that rebel soldiers would want to join forces with the institution with which they had fought a bloody conflict. The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy, however, highlights the benefits of including military power-sharing within the text of an exclusive peace accord. Military integration provides prestige and a paycheck. Rebel group leaders are thus able to use provisions for integration to consolidate their control over their organization. Most importantly, military power-sharing creates a strong commitment mechanism. Scholars have argued that allowing some rebel soldiers to remain armed through the implementation of an accord alleviates rebels' fears that the government will renege on a peace settlement.[6] The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy offers an alternative explanation for why military power-sharing creates a more durable peace between signatories. Military integration increases the benefit to governments of abiding by a peace agreement. Staying faithful to a negotiated settlement ensures the valuable cooperation of signatory rebel groups in its fight against other insurgent forces.

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy is not mutually exclusive with the idea that intrastate peace agreements are tools for conflict resolution. In fact, the threat posed by other rebel groups may strengthen the possibility of peace between the signing parties. Rather, the theory acknowledges that actors' motivations can be multifaceted. Warring parties that sign exclusive peace agreements often have no illusions that the accord will bring an end to the country's civil war. Rather, exclusive peace accords can be tools

[6]Walter, *Committing to Peace*; Møller and Cawthra, "Integration of Former Enemies into National Armies in Fragile African States"; Mattes and Savun, "Fostering Peace after Civil War"; Martin, "Into the Fold".

to end conflict with signatory rebel groups while concurrently altering how the war with another rebel group unfolds.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy argues that warring parties respond to difficult multiparty conflicts by signing exclusive peace accords. In Chapter 3, I conduct a quantitive analysis of all multiparty civil conflicts from 1975-2013. I test whether the threat posed by *other* rebel groups predicts whether a government-rebel group pairing signs an exclusive peace accord.

I operationalize how threatening other rebel groups are in three ways: the number of rebel groups in a conflict, whether any of the other rebel groups have military capabilities that rival those of the national armed forces, and the civilian and military battle deaths that are the consequence of warfare with other rebel groups.

I find a strong positive correlation between the number of rebel groups in a conflict and the likelihood of a rebel group-government pairing signing an exclusive peace accord. I also find that the military capabilities of other rebel groups in a conflict are strongly positively correlated with the likelihood of warring parties signing an exclusive agreement. I do not find a significant relationship between the battle deaths that are the consequence of warfare with other rebel groups and the signing of an exclusive peace agreement.

Given the strong statistical results of the first two measures of threat, battle deaths may not be strongly correlated with how threatening a rebel group is to the security of the state. Battle deaths could diverse from the sense of threat I am attempting to measure in two regards. Weak organizations that rely on terrorism may produce a high number of battle deaths but pose no meaningful risk to the security of the regime. Alternatively, strong rebel groups that have reached a relatively peaceful stalemate with the government may produce a low number of battle deaths but constitute a meaningful security threat. Both may be true.

If the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy is accurate, then the threat posed by other rebel groups should increase the likelihood that warring parties sign an exclusive peace agreement and only an exclusive peace agreement. Analysis that showed that the threat posed by other rebel groups also increased the likelihood that warring parties sign an inclusive peace accord would be evidence against the theory. I, however, find that none of the measures of threat are positively correlated with warring parties agreeing to inclusive peace settlements.

I also argue that governments can further strengthen their counterinsurgency capabilities by incorporating peace agreement provisions for the integration of rebel soldiers into the national armed forces. I find that the number of rebel groups in a conflict is significantly and positively correlated with warring parties signing an exclusive settlement that includes military integration. I do not find, however, that the strength of other rebel groups in a

conflict, nor the battle deaths that results from warfare with other rebel groups, is predictive of warring parties signing an exclusive peace accord that contains military power-sharing.

Chapter 3 demonstrates that broadly, across cases, where and when exclusive peace agreements are signed supports the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy. This analysis, however, cannot identify causal effects. In Chapter 4, I use a case study of two peace agreements in the Southern Philippines to identify the mechanisms that underlie the correlations found in the cross-national analysis.

The value of local knowledge is dependent on ethnic and geographical distribution of rebel groups in a conflict. The primary advantage that rebel soldiers can provide national armies is local knowledge. The greater the number of rebel groups in a conflict, the greater the likelihood is that two or more rebel groups operate in the same territory or share a constituency. Furthermore, only where an excluded and included rebel group share a constituency would the military integration of rebel soldiers undermine civilian support for the strong rebel group. The strength of other rebel groups and the battle deaths in a conflict do not speak to the likelihood that integrating rebel soldiers from one rebel group provides local knowledge about the operations of another rebel group.

For over two decades, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) waged war in the name of an independent homeland for the Moro people. For years no progress was made in peace talks between the government and the MNLF. In 1995, however, the conflict in Mindanao suddenly became significantly more difficult for government forces to manage. Amongst other events, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) launched what at the time was the largest terror attack in the country's history. Rather than derail the talks, both the government and MNLF saw a peace accord as a necessary response to the rising Islamist threat.

Moreover, the propaganda put out by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) called for the Moro people to take up arms against an inherently anti-Islamic national government. In the case of the peace agreement with the MNLF, government officials were explicit that one of the motivations for integrating rebel soldiers into Armed Forces of the Philippines was to undermine the credibility of the MILF's claim. Furthermore, these MNLF soldiers provided valuable local intelligence to strengthen the government's hand in its battle with the MILF.

The peace accord with the MNLF ultimately failed. The MILF continued to build strength during the implementation of the government's peace agreement with the MNLF. However, in line my theory, the peace agreement with the MNLF fell apart during a period of relative quiet between the government and other rebel groups.

A decade later, the government was again unable to manage the growing threat posed by Islamist groups such as the ASG. The MILF leveraged this threat to secure a peace deal and ensure the implementation of the accord (thus far). Additionally, after signing an exclusive peace accord, the MILF participated in the government's battles against the ASG. The peace agreement with the MILF did not include provisions for military power-sharing. The Battle of Marawi, however, demonstrates that peace agreement provisions for military power-sharing are a sufficient, but not necessary, tool for securing rebel groups' assistance in warfare against other rebel groups. Both cases provide strong evidence that exclusive peace agreements do more than resolve conflict between signatories - exclusive peace accords are counterinsurgency strategies against excluded rebel groups.

5.3 Future Research

Viewing peace agreements as an inherent part of war-fighting opens significant new avenues for research. Three critical questions present themselves: How does the distribution of ethnic and political identities in a conflict affect the likelihood that warring parties sign an exclusive peace agreement? How does agreement exclusivity affect the durability of peace between signatories? And if peace agreements are a form of counterinsurgency strategy, are they effective in that role?

First, not all exclusive peace agreements will strengthen a government's counterinsurgency capability to the same degree. Exclusive peace agreements, by limiting the number of war fronts a government must distribute military resources across, generally strengthen a government's counterinsurgency capabilities against any remaining insurgent group. Similarly, military power-sharing increases the number of available soldiers with experience fighting guerrilla warfare available to be deployed to any war front.

However, several of my theory's mechanisms, presume an affiliation between a signing rebel group and an excluded rebel group. For example, in Chapter 4, I show that the Philippine government signed a peace agreement with the MNLF to undermine the beliefs held by people in Mindanao that the government was inherently antithetical to Moro interests and to undercut civilian support for the MILF. Similarly, the government later signed an agreement with the MILF to discredit other Islamist organizations. Not all rebel groups present the opportunity to undermine other rebel groups in this fashion. For example, signing an exclusive peace accord with a Communist insurgent group will do little to reduce popular support for an Islamist rebel group. These examples demonstrate that the distribution of identity may be an important variable, one that I have not yet systematically addressed.

My thesis argued that the specific dynamics of a multiparty conflict, including how many rebel groups are involved and whether any of the groups are militarily strong, help to predict whether warring parties are likely to sign an exclusive peace accord. The constellation of rebel groups' ethnic and political identities may also influence whether warring parties choose to adopt a counterinsurgency strategy that relies on exclusive peace accords. Where governments cannot find a partner with whom a peace agreement would undermine social

support for another group, governments may simply be less likely to sign an exclusive accord. Furthermore, the arguments described above imply that in multiparty conflicts, governments are most likely to make peace overtures to rebel groups that share a social or political constituency with another rebel group. In multiparty conflict, rebel groups that do not share an ethnic, religious, or political identity with another rebel groups are least likely to be included in an exclusive peace accord. In this way, progress on this front may also help to answer the question of which rebel groups are likely to be included in an exclusive peace accord.

Second, how is the durability of peace between signatories affected by the use of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy? My theory argues that peace agreement exclusivity can strengthen the credibility of governments' commitments not to renege on a negotiated settlement. Rebel groups should have confidence in governments' incentives to abide by a peace accord and thus keep limited the number of front the armed forces must fight across. I anticipate, however, that there is heterogeneity in this effect. The credibility of governments' promises should be stronger when governments exclude stronger rebel groups as well as when the government continues to face a large number of insurgent groups.

Support for this component of my theory would include evidence that the longest-lasting peace between signatories of exclusive peace agreements is observed in multiparty conflicts where other rebel groups continue to pose a significant threat to the regime throughout the implementation of the accord. The theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy would also anticipate that exclusive peace agreements are the most likely to break down when the threat posed by excluded rebel groups dissolves (either due to a government victory or low insurgent activity). Testing this aspect of the theory would provide interesting insights into the question of when will peace between signatories be most durable following an exclusive peace agreement.

Third, are peace agreements an effective counterinsurgency strategy? My thesis suggests that threats from other rebel groups leads governments to sign exclusive peace agreements. But do the agreements actually produce the expected results? I have provided some examples that suggest that they do so. For example, in the Southern Philippines, the government's peace agreement with the MILF was integral to the government's ultimate victory against the ASG in the Battle of Marawi.[7]

Other cases provide a reason to question the efficacy of exclusive peace agreements as a counterinsurgency tool. This dissertation began with the Government of Colombia's decision to sign an exclusive peace accord with the People's Liberation Army (EPL), consolidating the civil conflict to its battles with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). Yet the government continued to fight the FARC and ELN for over twenty years. The 'integral war' launched by President César Gaviria against the FARC and ELN after concluding a peace accord with the EPL changed little about the ultimate outcome of the conflict.

We should display caution, however, in categorizing the peace agreement with the EPL

[7]See Chapter 4 for evidence in support of this statement.

as an ineffective counterinsurgency strategy. It is difficult to assess how the Colombian government's war with the FARC and ELN would have unfolded absent a peace accord with the EPL. Assessing the effectiveness of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy requires a potential counter-factual. One way of constructing such an analysis would be to study at a sub-national level the effect of governments shifting military resources from campaigns against the now-signatory groups to the frontlines of the war against the excluded rebel groups. Empirical research should also examine whether exclusive peace agreements, or the integration of rebel soldiers into the national armed forces, affect civilians' perceptions of the legitimacy of the remaining rebel groups. If so, peace agreements may be an effective method for stemming civilian support for insurgencies.

This thesis examines how multiparty conflict dynamics produce exclusive peace agreements. The research agenda I have outlined in this section brings the question full circle to ask how exclusive peace agreements affect conflict dynamics. Both components are integral to understanding the relationship between war and peace in multiparty civil conflicts.

5.4 Policy Implications

The findings presented in this dissertation have concrete policy implications. Peace agreements are often heralded as tools for diminishing violence. But my research suggests that, in some cases, peace agreements may predict an increase in violence. Exclusive peace agreements, by strengthening governments' war-fighting abilities relative to the remaining rebel forces, can enhance the likelihood of a government victory and an end to a civil war.[8] However, by enabling governments to redirect military resources into its wars against the remaining rebel groups, exclusive peace accords can bring a net increase in the amount of violence in a conflict.[9] This research can help those interested in promoting peace understand the range of motivations and consequences in signing an exclusive peace accord.

First, the theory of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy brings to light when peace processes are designed to strengthen governments in their fights against excluded rebel groups. Mediators and warring parties should take into account the full spectrum of likely causes and consequences in assessing the value of exclusive peace processes. Truly capturing the costs and benefits of a potential peace accord requires incorporating how a peace agreement with one group is likely to affect the conflict with excluded groups. If an agreement with one rebel group can undermine civilian support for other insurgent groups, this is an important advantage to consider. If a peace deal may be used to escalate conflict in other areas, the scope of such expanded violence must be understood in order to accurately assess the total effect of a deal.

[8] In the rare event where rebel groups are stronger than the governments they are fighting, strengthening a government's counterinsurgency capabilities may decrease the likelihood of a rebel victory and increase the likelihood of a stalemate.

[9] For instance, Burundi experienced an upsurge in violence in the immediate aftermath of the Arusha Accords. International Crisis Group, *Burundi*, p. 1.

I make no normative claims about whether the use of peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy creates better outcomes than the strategies warring parties would resort to otherwise. But understanding how an exclusive peace agreement is likely to affect conflict dynamics with other rebel groups is an important factor. Warring parties and mediators should consider these dynamics when calculating the possible consequences of an exclusive intrastate accord.

Second, as outlined by my theory, governments and rebel groups use exclusive peace agreements to white-wash their reputations. This is possible, in part, because international actors applaud the signatories to intrastate peace accords even when a major warring party is excluded from the settlement. From Burundi to Colombia, Sudan to Israel/Palestine, governments receive praise from the international community for signing exclusive peace accords.[10] Much of this applause stems from a belief that some attempt to establish peace is better than none. If an exclusive peace agreement, rather than bringing peace, redistributes the location and targets of violence, international actors should perhaps hold their commendation when warring parties sign exclusive accords.

Third, viewing exclusive peace agreements as a counterinsurgency strategy can provide humanitarian organizations with the counterintuitive advice to prepare to protect civilians in the wake of a negotiated settlement. If a peace agreement does result in escalating violence, civilians are likely to be the ultimate victims. My theory implies that peace-makers should consider safeguards for civilians in the wake of a peace accord that excludes one or more warring parties.

Effective humanitarian and civil society work requires planning; organizations benefit when they can predict upticks in violent conflict. It is possible that humanitarian organizations should celebrate a peace accord, while simultaneously preparing for the violent outcomes that the peace process facilitates. Both scholars and policymakers interested in bringing an end to civil conflict should find the results of this research informative; effectively working for peace requires understanding the ways peace agreements are designed for war.

[10]Evidence provided in Chapter 2 Section 2.1.1.

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Chapter A

Appendix

Table A1: Peace Agreements in Multiparty Conflicts

Country	Agreement	Date	Exclusive
Afghanistan	Islamabad Accord	1993-03-07	1
Afghanistan	Mahipar Agreement	1996-05-24	1
Afghanistan	Jalalabad Accord	1993-05-20	1
Afghanistan	Peshawar Accord	1992-04-24	1
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Dayton Accord	1995-12-14	0
Bosnia & Herzegovina	The Vance-Owen Plan	1993-05-02	0
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Comprehensive Peace Agreement	1994-03-18	1
Burundi	Arusha Declaration	1998-06-21	1
Burundi	Arusha Accords	2000-08-28	1
Burundi	Pretoria Protocol	2003-11-16	1
Cambodia	Paris Agreement	1991-10-23	0
Central African Republic	Deed of Adhesion	2012-08-25	1
Chad	Kano Accord	1979-03-15	0
Chad	Fundamental Charter	1978-08-25	1
Chad	Reconciliation Agreement	1999-07-03	1
Chad	Dougia Accord	1995-11-22	1
Chad	Tripoli 1 Agreement	1993-10-16	1
Chad	Bangui-2 Agreement	1994-08-11	1
Chad	El Geneina Agreement	1992-10-31	1
Chad	Abeche Agreement	1994-10-12	1
Chad	Donya Agreement	1998-05-07	1

Chad	Yebibou Agreement 2005	2005-08-18	1
Chad	Tripoli Accord	2006-12-24	1
Chad	Sirte Agreement	2007-10-25	0
Colombia	Caracas Agenda	1991-06-06	0
Colombia	Los Pozos Agreement	2001-02-09	1
Colombia	Declaration of Viana	1998-02-09	1
Colombia	Corinto Accords	1984-08-24	1
Colombia	Political Agreement between the National Government, the Political Parties, M-19 and the Catholic Church	1990-03-09	1
Colombia	Final Accord	1991-02-15	1
Congo	Agreement on Ending Hostilities	1999-12-29	0
Côte d'Ivoire	Accra II	2003-03-07	0
Democratic Republuc of Congo	Pretoria Agreement	2002-12-17	0
Democratic Republuc of Congo	Declaration of Fundamental Principles	2001-05-04	0
Democratic Republuc of Congo	Lusaka Accord	1999-08-31	0
India	Memorandum of Settlement	1993-08-23	1
Israel	Oslo II	1995-09-28	1
Israel	Wye II	1999-09-04	1
Israel	Annapolis Conference Joint Understanding	2007-11-27	1
Israel	Oslo Agreement	1993-09-13	1
Israel	Protocol on Further Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities	1995-08-27	1
Liberia	Yamoussoukro IV Agreement	1991-10-30	1
Liberia	Banjul IV Agreement	1990-12-21	0
Liberia	Banjul III Agreement	1990-10-24	1
Liberia	Accra Peace Agreement	2003-08-18	0
Liberia	Pretoria Agreement	2005-04-06	0
Liberia	Accra III	2004-07-30	0
Mali	Pacte National	1992-04-11	1
Philippines	Cipanas Understanding	1993-04-16	1
Philippines	Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro	2012-10-15	1
Sierra Leone	Abuja Ceasefire Agreement	2000-11-10	1
Sierra Leone	Lomé Peace Agreement	1999-07-07	1
Somalia	Addis Ababa Agreement	1993-03-27	1
Somalia	Joint Declaration	2008-10-26	1
Somalia	Djibouti Agreement	2008-11-26	1

South Sudan	Agreement between the Government of South Sudan and SSDM/A	2012-02-27	1
Sudan	Memorandum of Understanding	2002-11-18	1
Sudan	Doha Agreement	2010-02-23	1
Sudan	Declaration of Principles	2005-07-05	0
Sudan	Darfur Peace Agreement	2006-05-05	1
Tajikistan	Moscow Declaration	1997-06-27	0
Uganda	Nairobi Peace Agreement	1985-12-17	0
Uganda	Gulu Peace Accord	1988-06-03	1
Uganda	Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions	2007- 05-02	1
Zimbabwe	Declaration of Intent	1975-12-01	1

Table A2: Logit Analysis on Exclusive Peace Agreement, Robustness Check

	Dependent variable:		
	Exclusive Peace Agreement		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
No. of Groups	0.427***		
	(0.092)		
Strength		1.447***	
		(0.515)	
Battle Deaths			0.143
			(0.088)
Secessionist	−0.853*	−0.761	−0.795*
	(0.437)	(0.477)	(0.474)
GDP pc	−0.369**	−0.152	−0.247
	(0.171)	(0.255)	(0.250)
Post-Cold War	−0.124	0.021	0.056
	(0.596)	(0.644)	(0.697)
UN PKO	−0.005	−0.009	−0.009
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Duration	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Observations	21,654	21,654	21,654
R^2	0.052	0.034	0.022
χ^2 (df = 7)	35.908***	24.004***	15.583**
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table A3: Multinomial Logit Analysis on Agreement

	Dependent variable:		
	Agreement		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of Groups	−0.003		
	(0.068)		
Strength		0.767***	
		(0.265)	
Battle Deaths			−0.006
			(0.004)
Secessionist	0.240	0.216	0.192
	(0.390)	(0.387)	(0.400)
GDP pc	−0.689	−0.620	−0.760
	(0.508)	(0.498)	(0.502)
Post-Cold War	−0.430*	−0.366	−0.458*
	(0.240)	(0.244)	(0.245)
UN PKO	−0.017*	−0.017**	−0.017**
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Duration	1.565***	1.497***	1.646***
	(0.459)	(0.421)	(0.473)
Observations	19,901	19,901	19,901
R^2	0.054	0.059	0.057
χ^2 (df = 8)	64.247***	70.822***	68.343***
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table A4: Logit Analysis on Military Integration Agreement

	Dependent variable:		
	Military Integration Agreement		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of Groups	0.076		
	(0.098)		
Strength		0.033	
		(0.283)	
Battle Deaths			−0.005
			(0.005)
Secessionist	−2.070*	−2.154*	−2.229**
	(1.129)	(1.133)	(1.131)
GDP pc	−1.190***	−1.164***	−1.195***
	(0.290)	(0.278)	(0.292)
Post-Cold War	2.208**	2.139**	2.225**
	(0.985)	(1.012)	(1.021)
UN PKO	0.277	0.292	0.245
	(0.356)	(0.353)	(0.363)
Duration	−0.002	−0.003	−0.005
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Observations	19,901	19,901	19,901
R^2	0.147	0.146	0.149
χ^2 (df = 8)	80.002***	79.430***	81.438***
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A5: Multinomial Logit Analysis on Agreement

	Dependent variable:		
	Agreement		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of Groups	0.156***		
	(0.056)		
Strength		1.109**	
		(0.436)	
Battle Deaths			−0.006
			(0.005)
Secessionist	−0.612	−0.529	−0.696
	(0.483)	(0.486)	(0.485)
GDP pc	−0.249	−0.145	−0.269
	(0.197)	(0.228)	(0.227)
Post-Cold War	1.670***	1.446***	1.616***
	(0.505)	(0.468)	(0.509)
UN PKO	−0.302	−0.214	−0.201
	(0.562)	(0.592)	(0.601)
Duration	−0.009	−0.009	−0.009
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Observations	19,901	19,901	19,901
R^2	0.042	0.049	0.040
χ^2 (df = 8)	29.944***	35.036***	29.125***
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table A6: Logit Analysis on Military Integration Agreement, Includes Single Party

	Dependent variable:		
	Military Integration Agreement		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of Groups	0.067		
	(0.086)		
Strength		0.121	
		(0.213)	
Battle Deaths			−0.004
			(0.004)
Secessionist	−2.510***	−2.575***	−2.635***
	(0.748)	(0.745)	(0.743)
GDP pc	−0.951***	−0.923***	−0.936***
	(0.225)	(0.209)	(0.214)
Post-Cold War	2.521**	2.474**	2.527**
	(1.012)	(1.023)	(1.027)
UN PKO	0.683*	0.705**	0.683**
	(0.350)	(0.338)	(0.340)
Duration	0.007	0.007	0.007
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Observations	38,546	38,546	38,546
R^2	0.165	0.164	0.166
χ^2 (df = 8)	135.873***	135.154***	136.397***
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01